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THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH DRAMATIC POETRY

TO THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE:

AND

ANNALS OF THE STAGE

TO THE RESTORATION.

By J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.



The Swan Theatre.

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THE

HISTORY OF DRAMATIC POETRY.

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY,

THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS,

(*CONTINUED*).

DAMON AND PYTHIAS—THE SUPPOSES—JOCASTA—TANCRED AND GISMUND—TRANSLATIONS FROM SENECA—PLAYS AT COURT BETWEEN 1568 AND 1580.

RICHARD EDWARDS enjoyed a very high reputation as a dramatic poet, but he seems to have owed much of it to the then comparative novelty of his undertakings. Thomas Twine (who completed Phaer's translation of the Eneid in 1573), in an epitaph upon the death of Edwards, calls him—

> ———'the flower of our realm
> 'And phœnix of our age *,'

and specifically mentions two of his plays, *Damon and*

* In 'an Epitaph upon the death of the worshipfull Maister Richarde 'Edwardes, late Maister of the Children of the Queenes Majesties 'Chappell,' in Turberville's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, printed in 1567, 8vo. Turberville was murdered in 1579, by John Morgan, as appears by the following entry in the Stationers' Registers of that year:—'A dittie of M. Turberville murthered, and 'John Morgan that murthered him, with a letter of the said Morgan 'to his mother, and another to his sister Turberville.'

Pythias and *Palamon and Arcyte*, adding, however, that he had written more equally fit for the ears of princes—

> ' Thy tender tunes and rhymes,
> ' Wherein thou wont'st to play,
> ' Each princely dame of court and town
> ' Shall bear in mind alway.
> ' Thy Damon and his friend,
> ' Arcyte and Palemon,
> ' With more full fit for princes ears,
> ' Though thou from earth art gone,
> ' Shall still remain in fame ' &c.*

He is mentioned in Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586; and Puttenham in his *Art of English Poesy*, 1589, tells us that the Earl of Oxford (of whose dramatic productions there is no other trace) and Edwards deserve the highest prize for ' comedy and interlude.' Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, repeats the applause given by Puttenham, with the omission of the word ' interlude,' then out of fashion, terming Edwards ' one of the best for comedy.'

The earliest notice we have of Edwards as a dramatic poet occurs in 1564-5, when a tragedy by him, the name of which is not given, was performed by the children of the chapel under his direction, before the Queen at Richmond. It has been remarked elsewhere†, that this might possibly be his *Damon and*

* Warton (Hist. Eng. Poet. iv. 112) says that Twine was an actor in Edwards's *Palamon and Arcyte*, and that Miles Winsore, the antiquary, was another of the performers, and afterwards delivered an oration before the Queen at Bradenham.

† Annals of the Stage, vol. i. p. 189.

Pythias, termed by Lord Burghley, in the uncertain phraseology of that time, 'a tragedy;' or it might be one of the other dramatic performances, of which, according to Twine, Edwards was the author. *Damon and Pythias* is the only extant specimen of his talents in this department of poetry, but his *Palamon and Arcyte* was acted before Elizabeth at Christchurch, Oxford, on the 2d and 3d of September, 1566, only about two months before the death of its author, which happened on the 31st of October. Twine informs us in his epitaph, that Edwards was of Corpus Christi and subsequently of Christchurch, Oxford, and he did not leave the University until after August, 1544. Turberville, in the introduction to a poem by him on the death of Edwards, calls him 'gentleman of Lincoln's Inn,' where he probably entered himself when he first came to London, and before he was appointed by Elizabeth Master of the Children of her Chapel. Warton, after stating that Edwards 'united 'all those arts and accomplishments which minister 'to popular pleasantry*,' which may be very true, adds, what is unquestionably a mistake, that the children of the chapel were first formed by him into a company of players: they had regularly acted plays long before.

Damon and Pythias † does not adopt the improvement introduced by Sackville and Norton in 1561-2:

* History of English Poetry, iv. 110, edit. 8vo.

† It is reprinted in the different editions of *Dodsley's Old Plays*.

it is written in rhyme, and perhaps the author thought it better suited to the tragi-comical manner in which he has treated his story. The serious portions are unvaried and heavy, and the lighter scenes grotesque without being humorous. All kinds of dramatic propriety are disregarded, and among other absurdities the author has carried Grim, the Collier of Croydon, to the court of Dionysius, where he has sundry coarse colloquies with a couple of lackies, named Jack and Will. A brief specimen of one of these, on the prevailing fashion of wearing large bombasted hose, will be a sufficient, though not perhaps a satisfactory specimen.

'*Grimme.* Are ye servants then?
'*Wyll.* Yea, Sir: are we not pretie men?
'*Grimme.* Pretie men (quoth you?) nay you are stronge men,
'Els you could not beare these britches.
'*Wyll.* Are these such great hose?
'In faith, goodman Colier, ye see with your nose.
'By myne honestie, I have but one lining in one hose, but seven els of a roug.
'*Grimme.* This is but a little, yet it makes thee seeme a great bugge.
'*Jacke.* How say you, goodman Colier, can you finde any faulte here?
'*Grimme.* Nay, you should finde faught. Mary, here's trimme geare!
'Alas, little knave, dost not sweat? thou goest with great payne:
'These are no hose but water bougets, I tell thee playne;
'Good for none but suche as have no buttockes.
'Did you ever see two such little Robin-ruddockes,

'So laden with breeches? Chill say no more leste I offende.
'Who invented these monsters first, did it to a gostly ende:
'To have a male readie to put in other folkes stuffe;
'We see this evident by dayly prooffe.' &c.

The subsequent quotation is from the tragic part of the play, when Pithias is about to be beheaded by Gronno, the executioner. Gronno says—

'Now, Pithias, kneele downe, aske me blessyng like a pretie boy,
'And with a trise thy head from thy shoulders I wyll convay.
[*Here entreth Damon running, and stayes the sword.*
'*Damon.* Stay, stay, stay! for the kinges advantage stay!
'O mightie kynge, myne appointed time is not yet fully past;
'Within the compasse of myne houre, loe here I come at last.
'A life I owe, and a life I will you pay.
'Oh, my Pithias! my noble pledge, my constant friend!
'Ah, wo is me! for Damon's sake how neare were thou to thy ende!
'Geve place to me, this rowme is myne, on this stage must I play.
'Damon is the man, none ought but he to Dionisius his blood to pay.
'*Gronno.* Are you come, Sir? you might have taried, if you had bene wyse;
'For your hastie comming you are lyke to know the prise.
'*Pithias.* O thou cruell minnister, why didst not thou thine office?
'Did not I bidde thee make hast in any wyse?
'Hast thou spared to kill me once, that I may die twyse?
'Not to die for my frend is present death to me; and alas,
'Shall I see my sweet Damon slaine before my face?
'What double death is this!'

These examples will tend to establish, that although Edwards continued to employ rhyme, he endeavoured to get rid of some part of its monotony, by varying the length of his lines, and by not preserving the cæsura. It was nearly new, at the date when this piece was written, to bring stories from profane history upon the stage: *Damon and Pythias* was one of the earliest attempts of the kind; and at any other period, and without the Queen's extraordinary commendations, it may at least be doubted whether Edwards would have acquired an equal degree of notoriety.

Two plays were represented at Gray's Inn in 1566: the one was *The Supposes*, translated by George Gascoigne from *Gli Suppositi* of Ariosto; and the other *Jocasta*, adapted by Gascoigne, Francis Kinwelmarsh, and Christopher Yelverton*, from the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides. The first of these is remarkable, as it is the only existing specimen of a play in English prose acted, either in public or private, up to that date†. Gascoigne rendered it principally from the prose original, printed at Venice in 1525, but not without adopting some of the changes made by Ariosto, when he subsequently turned his comedy into verse. On the whole, the translation may be called faithful, for Gascoigne has added very little of

* Yelverton's name ought hardly to be included, as he only contributed the epilogue.

† Hawkins included it in his *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. iii., but he does not seem to have been aware of this peculiarity.

his own, contenting himself chiefly with a few unimportant omissions: the termination, however, differs slightly from both the original copies. 'The prologue or argument' is all that really belongs to the translator, and it merely consists of a repetition of the word 'suppose' in the same and somewhat different senses, which does him little credit as a punster, and none as a poet. More attention has been drawn to this production, on account of the fancied connection between a part of the plot of *The Supposes* and of *The Taming of the Shrew*, which Dr. Farmer pointed out in his Essay on the learning of Shakespeare *.

Jocasta, as has been stated, was acted in the same year as *The Supposes*, and at the same place: it is

* Gascoigne wrote another piece in a dramatic form, the body of which is in prose, although it has four choruses and an epilogue in rhyme, besides two didactic poems in the third act. It is called *The Glasse off Government, a tragicall comedie*, and the author states that he so terms it 'because therein are handled as well the reward for vertues as also the punishment for vices.' It is, in fact, a most tedious puritanical treatise upon education, illustrated by the different talents and propensities of four young men placed under the same master: the two cleverest are seduced to vice, while the two dullest persevere in a course of virtue, and one of them becomes secretary to the Landgrave, and the other 'a famous preacher.' Nothing can be more uninteresting than the whole performance, although the author has laboured to enliven it by the introduction of a Parasite, a Bawd, a Prostitute, a Roister, and a knavish servant. The schoolmaster preaches a regular sermon, quoting chapter and verse, and reads a long lecture on the duties of honour, obedience, and love. It was not printed until 1575, and the author died two years afterwards. It was most likely one of his latest works.

very possible that a play was required for some sudden emergency, and that, on this account, Gascoigne obtained the assistance of Kinwelmarsh and Yelverton. It deserves attention, as the second dramatic performance in our language in blank verse, and the first known attempt to introduce a Greek play upon the English stage. It cannot be called so properly a translation as an adaptation; for, as Warton has observed, there are in it 'many omissions, retrenchments, and transpositions*.' The authors, in fact, used no more of the *Phœnissæ* than suited their purpose, and that which they did use they have sometimes treated with little ceremony. The substance of the story, however, has not been changed, and the characters are the same as in the original. Gascoigne was employed upon the second, third, and fifth, and Kinwelmarsh upon the first and fourth acts; and each act (as in *Ferrex and Porrex*) is preceded by a dumb show, accompanied by appropriate music of viols, 'cythren, bandurion,' flutes, cornets, trumpets, drums, fifes, and stillpipes†. In the fourth dumb show 'a greate peale of ordinance was shot off,' after which a representation took place of the conflict between the Horatii and Curiatii, as typical of what was to follow. The third dumb show was a similar exhibition of the story of Curtius. The following quotation from the first speech of Bailo to Antigone, in Act i., will prove

* Hist. Engl. Poet. iv. 197, edit. 8vo.

† In the Household Accounts of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., we meet with constant payments 'to the Stillminstrells.'

that Kinwelmarsh, though much less notorious, wrote as good blank verse as his predecessors, Sackville and Norton.

'O gentle daughter of king Œdipus,
'O sister deare to that unhappy wight,
'Whom brothers rage hath reaved of his right,
'To whom thou knowest, in young and tender yeres,
'I was a frend and faithfull governor,
'Come foorth, sith that her grace hath granted leave,
'And let me know what cause hath moved now
'So chaste a mayde to set her daynty foote
'Over the threshold of her secret lodge?
'Since that the towne is furnisht every where
'With men of armes and warlike instruments,
'Unto our eares there comes no other noyce,
'But sound of trumpe and ney of trampling steedes,
'Which running up and downe from place to place,
'With hideous cryes betoken blood and death.
'The blasing sunne ne shineth halfe so bright,
'As it was woont to doe at dawne of day:
'The wretched dames throughout the woful towne,
'Together clustring to the temple goe,
'Beseeching Jove by way of humble playnt,
'With tender ruth to pity their distresse.'

As far as a judgment can be formed from the works left behind them, Gascoigne must have been a much more practised poet than his principal coadjutor on this occasion *; but, nevertheless, it cannot be said that there is any material disparity in the versification of the two: Gascoigne, perhaps, has the advantage,

* All that remains of Francis Kinwelmarsh, beyond what is contained in this tragedy, is some poems with the initials F. K., in *the Paradise of Dainty Devices.*

and there is spirit and force in the subsequent lines, which form part of his description, in Act v., of the fight between Eteocles and Polinices.

'So sayd Eteocles; and trumpets blowne
'To sounde the summons of their bloudy fighte,
'That one the other fiercely did encounter,
'Like lyons two, yfraught with boyling wrath,
'Both coucht their launces ful against the face.
'But heaven it nolde* that there they should them teint:
'Upon the battred shields the mighty speares
'Are both ybroke, and in a thousand shivers
'Amyd the ayre flowen up into the heavens.
'Behold againe, with naked swords in hand,
'Each one the other furiously assaults.
'Here they of Thebes, there stoode the Greekes in dout,
'Of whom doth each man feele more chilling dread,
'Lest any of the twaine should lose his life,
'Then any of the twaine did feele in fight.
'Their angry lookes, their deadly daunting blowes,
'Might witnes wel that in their hearts remaynd
'As cankred hate, disdayne, and furious moode,
'As ever bred in beare or tygers brest.'

The Epilogue to this tragedy is the only poem remaining by Sir Christopher Yelverton (father of Sir Henry Yelverton), who was afterwards knighted and appointed a judge: the following lines, which conclude it, are by no means deficient in harmony, and I insert them the more willingly, as this poem has hitherto been passed over almost without notice.

'O blinde unbridled search of sovereintie,
'O tickle traine of evill attayned state!

* *Nolde* is *ne wold*, or 'would not;' which explanatory words are inserted in the margin of the edition of 1587.

'O fonde desire of princely dignitie!
'Who clymes too soone he oft repents too late.
'The golden meane the happy doth suffice;
'They leade the poasting day in rare delight,
'They fill (not feede) their uncontented eies,
'They reape such rest as doth beguile the night;
'They not envy the pompe of hauty traine,
'Ne dread the dint of proud usurping swords;
'But plast alow more sugred joyes attaine,
'Than sway of lofty scepter can affoorde.
'Cease to aspire, then; cease to soare so hie,
'And shunne the plague that pierceth noble brestes.
'To glittring courts what fondnes is to flie
'When better state in baser towers restes!'

Yelverton must have been a poet of some considerable note before 1560, for in that year he is mentioned in company with Sackville and Norton, by Jasper Heywood, in the introduction to his translation of Seneca's *Thyestes:* Heywood says of them,

——— 'such yong men three,
'As weene thou mightst agayne
'To be begotte, as Pallas was,
'Of mighty Jove his brayne.'

Twenty years afterwards, the name of Christopher Yelverton again occurs, in connexion with a play got up and performed by the members of Gray's Inn, before the Queen at Greenwich.

Another production, of about this period, requires observation, both on account of the early date at which it was originally written, and some peculiar circumstances attending it. It was presented before Elizabeth, at the Inner Temple, in 1568, and it was the

work of five persons, probably all members of that Inn, each of whom contributed an act*. It is called *The tragedy of Tancred and Gismund* †, and it is founded upon the famous novel of Boccacio, forming the thirty-ninth of the series, in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, which had then only recently made its appearance. The tragedy does not seem to have been printed on its performance in 1568; but the author of the last act, Robert Wilmot, living until after 1592, published it in that year, when, as the title-page states, it was 'newly revived, and polished according to the decorum of these days.' The meaning of this passage seems to be, that the piece was in the first instance composed in rhyme: in 1592 (as I shall have occasion to show hereafter more at large), rhyme had gone out of fashion, even on the public stage; and the *reviving* and *polishing*, by Robert Wilmot, consisted chiefly in cutting off many of the 'tags to the lines,' or turning them differently. Nevertheless, much yet remains in rhyme, even of the fifth act, of which Wilmot was the original author; and if the fragment quoted in the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays* be a part of the first draught of this tragedy, as it was performed in 1568, it confirms the conjecture I have drawn from the expression on the title-page, inasmuch

* Their names are thus subscribed: Rod Staff at the close of act i. —Hen. No: at the end of act ii.—G. All.: at the termination of act iii.—Ch. Hat.: after act iv., while R. W. follows the epilogue. Hen. No. is supposed to mean Henry Noel; Ch. Hat., Christopher Hatton; and R. W., Robert Wilmot. The other two are unappropriated.

† See *Dodsley's Old Plays*, last edit., ii. 159.

as that is wholly in alternate rhyme. Excepting in the important difference between rhyme and blank verse, the general structure of this tragedy resembles that of *Ferrex and Porrex* and *Jocasta:* it has dumb-shows to commence, and choruses to terminate every act. *Tancred and Gismund* is the earliest English play extant, the plot of which is known to be derived from an Italian novel.

A classical taste began to be generally apparent very soon after Elizabeth came to the crown, and it produced its effects upon our national drama. The translation of the *Andria* of Terence had been printed about thirty years before she ascended the throne; and at a distance of from ten to fifteen years, it was followed by the interlude called *Jack Juggler*, founded upon a play by Plautus. *Jocasta*, from the Phœnissæ of Euripides, was acted, as has been mentioned, in 1566; but it was preceded by a series of translations of the tragedies of Seneca, for the commencement of which, we are indebted to an author already named—Jasper Heywood, son to the celebrated John Heywood. Most of these versions came out separately in octavo, between the years 1559 and 1566. The *Troas*, by Jasper Heywood, certainly appeared in 1559*, as it is mentioned in the prefatory matter to *Thyestes*, by the same hand,

* It was printed by T. Powell without date; and in the 'Preface' to *Thyestes*, Heywood complains bitterly of the errors of the press, though he had corrected the proofs himself. He states that he had sworn that Powell should never print another work by him, and he appears to have kept his word.

printed in 1560 *. *Hercules Furens*, also by Heywood, was published in 1561 †. *Œdipus*, by Alexander Nevyle, came out in 1563 ‡, and *Medea* and *Agamemnon*, by John Studley, in 1566. *Octavia*, by Thomas Nuce, was entered on the Stationers' books in the same year; but I apprehend that no copy of so early a date is now known to exist. These seven, with the addition of *Hippolytus* and *Hercules Oetæus* by Studley, and the *Thebais* by Thomas Newton, were printed collectively in quarto, in 1581 §. Nine of the ten tragedies are in fourteen-syllable Alexandrines, (excepting the choruses, the measure of which is varied,) and the tenth, *Octavia* by Nuce, is partly in ten-syllable couplets, and partly in lines of eight syllables, rhyming alternately.

* 'Imprinted in the house of the late Thomas Berthelettes.'

† 'Imprinted by H. Sutton, 1561;' so that, perhaps, the executors of Berthelet pleased Heywood as little as Powell had done.

‡ Warton (H. E. P., iv. 208) thought that this play was not printed until 1581: a copy, printed by Thomas Colwell, '1563, 28 Aprilis,' is in the Garrick Collection. Warton was also incorrect in asserting that the *Medea*, by John Studley, was not published until 1581. T. Colwell was the printer of that tragedy, as well as of the *Agamemnon*.

§ Under the following title: 'Seneca his tenne Tragedies, translated into English. *Mercurii nutrices horæ.* Imprinted at London, 'in Fleetstreete, neare unto Saincte Dunstons church, by Thomas 'Marshe, 1581.' Thomas Newton, who was more celebrated as a Latin than as an English poet, undertook the office of editor, and very modestly did not substitute his own version of the *Troas* for that of Heywood. To Thomas Newton, who began writing as early as 1560, Warton, Ritson, and others attribute a collection of poems on the death of Queen Elizabeth, published in 1603, under the title of *Atropoion Delion, or the Death of Delia.* One of these poems is an acrostic to Lady Francis

Had they all been mere translations, I should have dismissed them with greater brevity; but Heywood and Studley have some claim to be viewed in the light of original dramatic poets: they added whole scenes and choruses wherever they thought them necessary, and even Nevyle (who is certainly inferior to all his coadjutors *) tells the reader, that 'he hath sometymes 'boldly presumed to erre from his author, rovynge at 'random where he list, adding and subtracting at his 'pleasure.' This circumstance proves, as Warton has very justly remarked, that dramatic 'authors now 'began to think for themselves, and that they were 'not always implicitly enslaved to the prescribed 'letter of their models.' I shall speak briefly of each of these writers in succession.

The tragedies by Jasper Heywood are reprinted in the quarto of 1581, as they had first appeared in the octavo editions of about twenty years' earlier date †. Of these, the first was *Troas*, published while he was yet a lad at the University, and his additions were numerous, including a scene in stanzas, in which the

[Strange?], in which these two lines occur, which are decisive that Newton of Chester was not the writer of them.

'Fainting with sorrow this my *youngling Muse*
'Requires as much of you for Delia's death.'

If Newton began writing forty-three years before the date when this was printed, he would hardly have applied the epithet *youngling* to his Muse.

* On this point I differ, with the greatest humility, from Warton. H. E. P., iv. 208, edit. 8vo.

† With the omission, however, of the curious introductory matter.

ghost of Achilles claims the sacrifice of Polyxena—a new chorus for the third act, and a supplement to that which terminates the first act. The following lines from the last, show that at a very early age Heywood was no mean versifier.

'If prowess could eternitie procure,
'Then Pryame yet should live in lykyng lust:
'Ay, portly pompe of pride, thou art unsure!
'Lo, learne by him, O kinges, ye are but dust.
'And Hecuba that wayleth now in care,
'That was so late of high estate a Queene,
'A mirrour is to teache you what you are:
'Your wavering welth, O Princes, here is seene.
'Whom dawne of day hath seen in high estate
'Before sunnes set, alas, hath had his fall:
'The cradelles rocke apointes the life his date,
'From settled joy to sodain funerall.'

To *Thyestes* he subjoined a scene at the close, where the hero soliloquizes on his misfortunes: he seems to have laboured to be forcible, and in exaggerating the terrific has almost rendered it ludicrous. It thus commences—

'O kyng of Dytis dungeon darke
'and grysly ghosts of hell,
'That in the deepe and dredful denns
'of blackest Tartare dwell;
'Where leane and pale diseases lye,
'where feare and famyne are;
'Where discorde standes with bleedyng browes,
'where every kynde of care,
'Where furies fight in bedds of steele,
'and heares of cralling snakes;
'Where Gorgon grymme, where Harpies are,
'and lothsome Lymbo Lakes,

'Where most prodigious uglye thynges
'the hollowe helle dothe hyde,
If yet a monster more misshapte
'then all that there do byde,
'That makes his broode his cursed foode,
ye all abhorre to see,
'Nor yet the deepe Averne it selfe
'may byde to cover me:
'Nor grysly gates of Plutoes place
'yet dare them selves to spredde,
'Nor gapyng grounde to swallowe him
'whome godds and day have fledde;
'Yet breake ye out from cursed seates
'and here remayne with me,
'Ye neede not now to be affrayde
'the ayre and heaven to se.'

Studley tells us himself, in the dedication of his *Agamemnon*, 1566, to Sir W. Cecill, that he had been educated at 'the grammar school' of Westminster, and that he had afterwards gone to Cambridge. He added to the fifth act of this tragedy, a long soliloquy by Eurybates, detailing more particularly than had been done in the body of the performance, the death of Cassandra, the flight of Orestes, and the capture of his sister. The following is an alliterative specimen of his talents as an original poet.

'Alas, ye hatefull hellysh hagges,
'ye furies foule and fell,
'Why cause ye rusty rancours rage
'in noble hartes to dwell?
'And cancred hate in boylynge brestes
'to grow from age to age?
'Could not the graundsyres painful panges
'the chyldrens wrath asswage?

'Nor famyne faint of pynyng paunche,
'with burnyng thurste of hell,
'Amid the blackest stream of Styckes
'where poysnyng breathes do well;
'Where vapors vyle parbraking * out
'from dampysh myry mud,
'Encrease the paynes of Tantalus,
'deserved by gyltles blood?
'Could not thyne owne offence suffyce,
'Thyestes, in thy lyfe,
'To fyle thy brothers spousall bed,
'and to abuse his wyfe;
'But after breath from body fled,
'and lyfe thy limbes hath left,
'Can not remembraunce of revenge
'out of thy brest be reft?'

The subsequent stanza, from the chorus to the fourth act of *Medea*, may prove that the preceding quotation was not in Studley's natural vein, although he thought that a scene of the kind was required to complete the *Agamemnon*.

'Now, Phœbus, lodge thy charyot in the west,
'Let neyther raynes nor brydle stay thy race:
'Let groveling light with dulceat nyght opprest,
'In cloking cloudes wrap up his muffled face;
'Let Hesperus, the loadesman of the nyght,
'In western floode drench deepe the day so bryght.'

Alexander Nevyle was also very young when he published his translation of *Œdipus* in 1563. It is to be observed, that Warton, who thought Nevyle's 'the most spirited and elegant version in the collection,' only saw the tragedy as it stands in the edition of 1581, which materially varies from the older copy.

* *Parbraking* out is vomiting out.

When Nevyle wrote in 1563, the author was evidently a most unskilful versifier: if, as often happened, he had a few words necessary to the full meaning of his author, but which he could not contrive to bring into his metre, he did not scruple to add them in a parenthesis, thus:—

'Whereat my tongue amazed stayes:
'God graunt that at the last
'It fall not out as Creon tolde:
'Not yet the worst is past (I feare).'

So that to read the translation right on makes the measure appear most rugged and uncouth, and to omit the parenthesis renders the sense unintelligible. In 1581 many of these defects were removed (whether by Newton, the editor of the collection, or by Nevyle, is not stated), and the translation assumed a much more regular and polished form: still the versification is often harsh and unsatisfactory to the ear, and the defect already mentioned seems to have been found in not a few instances incorrigible. The following quotations will show the degree of improvement introduced, and that Nevyle does not merit, at least to its full extent, the eulogium of Warton, even supposing that he superintended the reprint of his *Œdipus* 1581. The two passages are from Act ii. Scene 2, between Œdipus and Jocasta, and the first is as it stands in the copy of 1563. Œdipus speaks:

'The gaping yearth devyde us both, thone from thother quight:
'Styll let our feete repugnant bee, so shall I shun the lyght,
'(That most me greves.)

'*Jocasta.* The Destenies are in faut. Blame them, alas, alas, not wee.
'*Œdipus.* Spare now. Leave of to speak in vain. Spare now, O mother, mee.
'By these relyques of my dismembred body I thee praye,
'By myne unhappy chyldren pledges left. What shall I say?
'By all the Gods, I thee beseche, by all that in my name
'(Is either good or bad),
'Let me alone. To trouble me, alas, you are to blame.'

It will be allowed that this is hardly readable; yet I have not selected the passage because it was peculiarly inharmonious: it was rendered a little more smooth and flowing in the copy of 1581, which I now quote—

'The gaping earth devide us both, th' one from th'other quight.
'Still let our feete repugnant bee. So shall I shun the light,
'That most of all me grieves: so shall I space obtaine to wayle
'These bleeding woes on every side that doe my thoughtes assayle.
'*Jocasta.* The Destenies are in fault. Blaime them, alas, alas, not wee.
'*Œdipus.* Spare now. Leave of to speake in vayne, spare now, O mother, mee.
'By these relyques of my dismembred body I thee pray,
'By myne unhappy children pledges left. What shall I say?
'By all the Gods I thee beseech. By all that in my name
'Is good or bad, let me alone. Alas, you are to blame
'To trouble me—You see what hell my haplesse heart doth paine—
'You see that in my conscience ten thousand horrors raine.'

I recollect no other instance in which a similar expedient to get over one of the main difficulties of translation (that of compressing the meaning of the author into the measure of the verse) has been resorted to. Independently of this deformity, Nevyle is generally very negligent in the observance of the cæsura after the fourth foot, without which the verse of fourteen syllables can seldom run easily and agreeably.

Nuce and Newton I shall dismiss, after making a single quotation from the *Octavia* of the one and from the *Thebais* of the other, because they claim no merit but that of being faithful translators. A few lines will serve to establish that fidelity is the chief, if not only merit of Nuce. They are from *Octavia*, Act ii.—

'But now this age, much worse then all the rest,
'Hath lept into her mothers broken breast,
'And rusty lumpish yron and massie gold
'Hath digged out, that was quite hid with mold.
'And fighting fistes have armd without delay,
'And drawing forth their boudes for rule to stay
'Have certayne several joly kingdomes made,
'And cities new have raysde now rulde with blade,
'And fenceth either with their proper force
'Straunge stoundes, or them assaults, the which is worse.
'The starry specked Virgin, flowre of skies,
'Which Justice hight, that guiltie folk descries,
'Now lightly esteemd of mortall people here
'Each earthly stound is fled, and comes not neere
'The savage mannerd route, and beastly rude,
'With dabbed wristes in goary bloud embrude.'

Newton was perhaps the most finished verse-maker of

the five poets engaged upon this work, though the *Thebais* was not the piece best calculated to show off his talents to advantage. If the play were written by Seneca, he left it imperfect, wanting the whole of the fifth act, besides choruses, which Newton would not venture to supply. Warton terms him prosaic, but he had an ungrateful subject, and probably only undertook it to complete the 'ten tragedies.' There are two passages at the close, which, for the time, seem to me extremely well rendered. Polynices replies to Jocasta, who had been warning him of consequences—

'For that I neyther recke ne care what shall to me befall:
'That Prince that feares disdaynful hate unwilling seemes to raigne.
'The God that swaies the golden globe together hath these twayne
'Conjoynd and coupled—Hate and Rule; and him do I suppose
'To be a noble king indeede, that can supplant his foes,
'And subjects' cancred hate suppresse.'

Afterwards he adds—

'To be a king I would engage to force of flaming fire
'Both countrey, house, land, wyfe, and chyld to compasse my desyre.
'No fee to purchase princely seate, ne labour compt I lost:
'A kingly crowne is never deare, whatever price it cost.'

Although a classical taste began thus to be evident soon after Elizabeth ascended the throne, yet plays upon classical, historical, and general subjects did not become common until after she had been some years

Queen. The specimens of the drama prior to her reign which have descended to us, either in print or in manuscript (John Heywood's 'Interludes' and one or two other productions of a similar description excepted) are all in the nature of Miracles or Morals. Edward VI. is said to have written 'an elegant comedy,' with not a very elegant title, called *The Whore of Babylon*, obviously of a religious and controversial character. *Jube the Sane*, so called in the MS. annals of that reign, was in all probability founded upon the book of Job; and we hear of the performance but of a single play anterior to the reign of Elizabeth, which, from its name, looks like an original composition of a profane kind: this was *The Sack full of News**, which occasioned the interference of the Privy Council in September, 1557, in order to suppress it.

From 1568 to 1580, both inclusive, the Court was entertained with Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, and Morals; and the names of many are preserved in the accounts of the Revels for the respective years. In the Annals of the Stage all the details that have reached us upon this interesting subject are furnished; but, in connexion with the progress of our dramatic poetry, it may be useful to arrange the pieces, as far as their titles will enable us to do so, in the classes to which they belong. It is, however, necessary to introduce them with this important re-

* 'A Sack full of News' is one of the ancient ballads enumerated by Laneham, in his Letter from Kenilworth, as in the possession of Captain Cox. The play might be founded upon it.

mark—that although it sometimes happened that pieces were written expressly for performance before the Queen on particular occasions, yet the ordinary course was for the Master of the Revels to summon before him the players, who were ordered to exhibit at Christmas, Twelfth-tide, or Shrove-tide, in order that he might learn from them what pieces they could represent, and in order that they might rehearse them in his presence, and enable him to ascertain their fitness for the purpose. The plays they so rehearsed were such as they were in the habit of playing before popular audiences in London and elsewhere; so that an account of the plays represented at Court is in fact an account of the plays represented in public; and the list I am about to subjoin will, therefore, show the then state of the drama not only among the higher, but among the lower orders. It establishes also that the court followed, and did not in any material respect lead and guide the popular taste, which at this date had so greatly improved.

The following were dramas upon classical subjects drawn from ancient history or fable, represented at Court in the twelve years between 1568 and 1580.

1. Orestes.
2. Iphigenia.
3. Ajax and Ulysses.
4. Narcissus.
5. Alcmæon.
6. Quintus Fabius.
7. Timoclea.
8. Perseus and Andromeda.
9. Mutius Scævola.
10. History of Cynocephali.
11. History of a Greek Maid.
12. Rape of the Second Helen.
13. Titus and Gesyppus.
14. Four Sons of Fabius.
15. Scipio Africanus.
16. Sarpedon.
17. Pompey.
18. Mamillia.

The plays founded upon modern history, romances, and stories of a more general kind, were still more numerous: they were these:—

1. King of Scots.
2. Lady Barbara.
3. Cloridon & Radiamanta.
4. History of Alucius.
5. Paris and Vienna.
6. Theagenes.
7. Pedor and Lucia.
8. Herpetulus and Perobia.
9. Philimon and Felicia.
10. Phœdrastus.
11. Love and Fortune.
12. Pretestus.
13. Painter's Daughter.
14. Solitary Knight.
15. Irish Knight.
16. Three Sisters of Mantua.
17. Cruelty of a Stepmother.
18. Knight in the Burning Rock.
19. Murderous Michael.
20. Duke of Milan.
21. Portio and Demorantes.

Under the head of Comedies the subsequent pieces may probably be enumerated, though perhaps some of them belong to other classes.

1. As plain as can be.
2. Six Fools.
3. Jack and Jill.
4. Panacæa.
5. Tooley.
6. History of the Collier.
7. History of Error.

We may conclude pretty decisively that the subsequent pieces were Morals.

1. Painful Pilgrimage.
2. Wit and Will.
3. Prodigality.
4. Truth, Faithfulness, and Mercy.
5. Marriage of Mind and Measure.
6. Loyalty and Beauty.

Of these fifty-two dramatic productions not one can be said to have survived, although there may be reason to believe that some of them formed the foundation of plays acted at a later period. Thus Peele's reputed

play of *Mahomet and Hiren the fair Greek*, may have been a revival and alteration, with additions and improvements, of what is named in the preceding list the *History of a Greek Maid*. *Murderous Michael*, perhaps, was an ancient version of the story of *Arden of Feversham*: the *History of Error* was possibly the true source of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*; and the *History of the Collier* there is ground to believe was the original of *Grim the Collier of Croydon* *.

* One of the plays mentioned under the date of 1600, in Henslowe's Diary, preserved in Dulwich College (but omitted among various others by Malone), is called *The Devil and his Dame*, and it is there attributed to William Haughton: this is doubtless no other than *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, the second title of which is *The Devil and his Dame*. It bears evident marks of greater antiquity than the year 1600, when Haughton was engaged upon it; and the Collier there is the same personage who had figured in Edwards's *Damon and Pythias*, for both describe themselves as 'Colliers to the King's own Majesty's mouth.' It also contains an allusion, in Act iv. Scene 1, to Ulpian Fulwell's *Like will to Like*, first printed in 1568. It will be observed, that that part of the plot of *Grim the Collier of Croydon* which relates to Grim, Joan, Clack the Miller, and Parson Shorthose, has no connexion with the rest of the story, and is, besides, in its language and style, far older than the other parts of the piece, which are borrowed from Machiavel's Novel of Belphegor. This, I apprehend, was added by Haughton in 1600, when he also made some alterations in what relates to Grim and his companions, though he still preserved very many of the rhyming lines he found in the old copy, and which, as I have suggested, was perhaps the very same piece that had been performed before Queen Elizabeth, in 1576, by the Earl of Leicester's servants. This clue seems to explain all the difficulties arising out of the discordance, especially in point of date, of many parts of *Grim the Collier of Croydon*. It was not printed until 1662, when it was attributed to J. T., but this might be only a guess by the bookseller.

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY,

THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS,

(CONTINUED).

A KNACK TO KNOW A KNAVE—THE MISFORTUNES OF ARTHUR—THE RARE TRIUMPHS OF LOVE AND FORTUNE—ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM.

One fact we may consider decisively established—that between 1568 and 1580, the Morals represented bore but a small proportion to the Tragedies, Comedies, and Histories; but some time before the race of Morals was quite extinct, an attempt was made to unite in a five-act comedy, as had been previously done in interludes, the two species of performance. The title of this attempt is, *A Knack to know a Knave;* and although it was not printed until 1594 *, we are warranted in supposing that in the shape in which it now appears, it was written and acted prior to 1590: it is mentioned in Henslowe's accounts, not as a new piece, under the date of the 10th June, 1592. It was performed by his company (of which Edward Alleyn was the leader, and William Kemp a principal member) only three times anterior to June 1592; and that

* Warton, who only seems to have been acquainted with its title, says that it was entered for publication on the Stationers' Books in January 1595 [H. E. P., iv. 305 edit. 8vo.], but the entry was, in fact, first made in September 1593.

circumstance may be accounted for, if we imagine that it was then a play which had not the recommendation of novelty. It may be doubted whether that portion of it, which in its nature and characters resembles a Moral, was not founded upon a still older performance.

The name of its author cannot now be recovered *, but the title-page informs us that it had been played 'sundry times by Ed. Allen and his company,' and that it contained 'Kemp's applauded merriments of the men of Goteham †.' Kemp succeeded Tarlton, who died in September 1588; and Nash, in his *Almond for a Parrat*, printed probably in the next year, calls him 'Jest-monger, and Vice-gerent general to the ghost of Dick Tarlton.' The piece might, however, have been produced prior to the death of Tarlton, but

* Malone, without a particle of evidence, in a MS. note to his copy of *A Knack to know a Knave*, assigns it to Robert Greene, who, he says, equally loosely, wrote most of the anonymous pieces prior to 1592. If it had been Greene's, the bookseller would not have failed to put the name of so popular a writer on the title-page. *A Knack to know an honest Man*, printed in 1596, was written as a counterpart to *A Knack to know a Knave*, to which it is infinitely inferior, and altogether unworthy of notice. *A Knack to know a Knave* was unquestionably extremely well liked by the audiences, and the phrase in the title was subsequently adopted by other writers: thus, in 1596, appeared a pamphlet, called 'The Triall of True Friendship, &c.; otherwise, *A Knack to know a Knave*, from an honest man, &c. By M. B.'

† Ritson (Bibl. Poet. 261) mentions Kemp's 'applauded merryments of the men of Goteham,' which were entered on the Stationers' Books in 1593, apparently without being aware that they formed part of the play of *A Knack to know a Knave*. Kemp had been an author in 1587, when he printed 'a dutifull Invective against the most haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington,' &c.

certainly after 1586. The *dramatis personæ* consist of abstract impersonations and historical characters; and the following belong to the former class, and are engaged more especially with that part of the play which resembles a Moral.

Honesty, employed in exposing crimes and vices.
Walter, representing the frauds, &c. of Farmers.
Priest, representing the vices of the Clergy.
Coneycatcher, representing the tricks of Cheats.
Perin, representing the vices of Courtiers.

The four last are supposed to be the sons of the old Bailiff of Hexham, who is himself a sort of representative of the iniquities practised by inferior magistrates. On his death-bed, early in the performance, he tells his sons, whom he has summoned round him—

'Here have I been a bailiff threescore years,
'And us'd exaction on the dwellers by;
'For if a man were brought before my face
'For cozenage, theft, or living on his wit,
'For counterfeiting any hand or seal,
'The matter heard, the witness brought to me,
'I took a bribe and set the prisoners free.
'So by such dealings I have got my wealth.'

When he dies, the stage direction is, 'Enter a devil, and carry him away;' and the whole of this portion of the performance is a severe and somewhat coarse satire on the reigning iniquities of the court and country. This is not the only time when the devil makes his appearance for the sake of pleasing the mob, and in strict conformity with the practice of the old Morals. To show the general nature of the satire, the follow-

ing, from one of the speeches of Honesty, may be quoted—

'"Tis strange to see how men of honesty are trou-
'bled many times with subtle knavery; for they have
'so many cloaks to cover their abuses, that Honesty
'may well suspect them, but dares not detect them.
'For if I should, they have by their knavery got so
'many friends, that though never so bad they will
'stand in defence with the best. I was at the water-
'side, where I saw such deceit, I dare not say knavery,
'in paying and receiving custom for outlandish ware,
'that I wondered to see, yet durst not complain of:
'the reason was, they were countenanced with men of
'great wealth, richer than I a great deal, but not
'honester. Then I went into the markets, where I
'saw petty knavery in false measuring corn, and in
'scales that wanted no less than two ounces in the
'pound. But all this was nothing, scant worth the
'talking of; but when I came to the Exchange, I
'espied in a corner of an aisle an arch cozener—a
'coney-catcher, I mean, which used such gross cozen-
'ing as you would wonder to hear.'

In the end Honesty exposes the wickedness of all classes to the King, and they are punished according to the enormity of their offences. The chief historical personages in the play are—

Edgar, King of England.
Bishop Dunstan.
Ethenwald, Earl of Cornwall.
Osrick, an old lord, and
Alfrida his daughter.

Edgar, on the report of the beauty of Alfrida, sends Ethenwald to court her in his name: he arrives in the evening, and thus picturesquely describes the approach of night.

——— 'The night draws on,
'And Phœbus is declining towards the west.
'Now shepherds bear their flocks into the folds,
'And wint'red oxen, fodder'd in their stalls,
'Now leave to feed, and 'gin to take their rest.
'Black dusky clouds environ round the globe,
'And heaven is cover'd with a sable robe.'

Ethenwald, who has previously seen Alfrida, and is in love with her, grieves bitterly that he cannot court the lady for himself, and afterwards Osrick introduces him to his innocent and unconscious daughter. Ethenwald complains that 'a painful rheum' afflicts his eyes, and that he cannot look up—

'*Osrick.* I am sorry that my house should cause your grief.
'Daughter, if you have any skill at all,
'I pray you use your cunning with the Earl,
'And see if you can ease him of his pain.
'*Alfrida.* Father, such skill as I receiv'd of late
'By reading many pretty-penn'd receipts,
'Both for the ache of head and pain of eyes,
'I will, if so it please the Earl to accept it,
'Endeavour what I may to comfort him.
'My Lord, I have waters of approved worth,
'And such as are not common to be found,
'Any of which, if please your honour use them,
'I am in hope will help you to your sight.
'*Ethenwald.* No, matchless Alfrida, they will do me no good,

'For I am troubled only when I look.
'*Alfr.* On what, my Lord? on whom?
'*Ethenw.* I cannot tell.
'*Alfr.* Why, let me see your eyes, my Lord: look upon me.
'*Ethenw.* Then 'twill be worse.
'*Alfr.* What! if you look on me? Then I'll begone.
'*Ethenw.* Nay, stay, sweet love, stay, beautcous Alfrida,
'And give the Earl of Cornwall leave to speak.
'Know, Alfrida, thy beauty hath subdued
'And captivate the Earl of Cornwall's heart.
'Briefly, I love thee, seem I ne'er so bold,
'So rude and rashly to prefer my suit:
'And if your father give but his consent,
'Eas'd be that pain that troubles Ethenwald;
'And this considered, Osrick shall prove
'My father, and his daughter be my love.
'Speak, quick Osrick—shall I have her or no?
'*Osrick.* My Lord, with all my heart: you have my consent,
'If so my daughter please to condescend.
'*Ethenw.* But what saith Alfrida?
'*Alfr.* I say, my Lord, that seing my father grants,
'I will not gainsay what his age thinks meet.
'I do appoint myself, my Lord, at your dispose.'

The blank-verse sometimes halts a little, perhaps, owing to the errors of the printer, which in many places are obvious. Ethenwald reports to Edgar that Alfrida is well enough for an Earl, but not sufficiently beautiful for a King: Edgar disbelieves him, and visiting Osrick to ascertain the truth, Ethenwald endeavours to pass off the kitchen-maid upon the king as Alfrida. The trick is detected, and by the advice

of Dunston forgiven, Edgar generously renouncing his attachment in favour of Ethenwald.

'Kemp's applauded merriments of the men of Goteham, in receiving the King into Goteham,' consists only of a single scene of ignorant blundering and contention, whether a smith or a cobbler should deliver a mock-petition to the King regarding the consumption of ale. 'Merriment' seems to have been a technical term for a piece of theatrical buffoonery; and Nash, in his *Apology of Pierce Penniless*, 1593, after abusing Gabriel Harvey as 'a rope-maker' and 'a clown,' warns him lest Will Kemp should make 'a merriment' of him; referring possibly to the very merriment in the play before us. As I am not aware that any other distinct specimen under the name of a 'Merriment' exists, it may be worth while to quote it; but certainly for that reason only, as it shows how much must have been left to the *extempore* resources and grimace of the performers, to render such an exhibition at all laughable.

'*Enter mad men of Goteham; to wit, a Miller, a Cobbler, and a Smith.*

'*Miller.* Now let us consult among ourselves, how to 'misbehave ourselves to the King's worship, Jesus bless 'him! and when he comes, to deliver him this petition. I 'think the Smith were best to do it, for he's a wise man.

'*Cobbler.* Neighbour, he shall not do it, as long as 'Jeffery, the translator, is mayor of the town.

'*Smith.* And why, I pray? Because I would have put 'you from the mace?

'*Miller.* No, not for that, but because he is no good 'fellow; nor he will not spend his pot for company.

'*Smith.* Why, sir, there was a god of our occupation,
'and I charge you, by virtue of his godhead, to let me
'deliver the petition.

'*Cobbler.* But soft you: your god was a cuckold, and his
'godhead was the horn, and that's the arms of the godhead
'you call upon. Go; you are put down with your occu-
'pation, and now I will not grace you so much as to
'deliver the petition for you.

'*Smith.* What, dispraise our trade?

'*Cobbler.* Nay, neighbour, be not angry, for I'll stand
'to nothing only but this—

'*Smith.* But what? Bear witness a gives me the but,
'and I am not willing to shoot. Cobbler, I will talk with
'you. Nay, my bellows, my coal-trough, and my water
'shall enter arms with you for our trade. O neighbour,
'I cannot bear it, and I will not hear it.

'*Miller.* Hear you, neighbour: I pray conswade your-
'self and be not wilful, and let the Cobbler deliver it—you
'shall see him mar all.

'*Smith.* At your request I will commit myself to you,
'and lay myself open to you like an oyster.

'*Miller.* I'll tell him what you say. Hear you, neigh-
'bour: we have constulted to let you deliver the petition:
'do it wisely for the credit of the town.

'*Cobbler.* Let me alone; for the King's tarminger [har-
'binger] was here: he says the King will be here anon.

'*Smith.* But hark. By the mass, he comes.

'*Enter the King, Dunston, Perin.*

'*King.* How now, Perin! who have we here?

'*Cobbler.* We, the townsmen of Goteham,
'Hearing your grace would come this way,
'Did think it good for you to stay,
'(But hear you, neighbours, bid somebody ring the bells,)
'And we are come to you alone
'To deliver our petition.

'*King.* What is it, Perin? I pray thee read.

'*Perin.* Nothing but to have a licence to brew strong 'ale thrice a week; and he that comes to Goteham and will 'not spend a penny on a pot of ale, if he be a-dry, that he 'may fast.

'*King.* Well, sirs, we grant your petition.

'*Cobbler.* We humbly thank your royal majesty.

'*King.* Come, Dunston, let's away.

'[*Exeunt omnes.*'

This is the whole of what makes such a figure on the title-page, and no doubt it was rendered conspicuous there, in order to promote the sale of the play, as Kemp in his day was as great a popular favourite, as Tarleton had been before him. The epilogue to *A Knack to know a Knave* was spoken by Honesty, the part assigned in all probability to Alleyn.

The History of Sir Clyomon and Clamydes, though printed in 1599, is, indisputably, considerably older than *A Knack to know a Knave:* the latter is a mixture of History and Moral, but the former is a combination of Romance and Moral, in which the departure from the elder species of drama is, in some respects, less distant; for even a Vice, called Subtleshift, is employed in a capacity not very dissimilar to that of the Vice in the Moral of *Common Conditions*. In fact, the two pieces, *Sir Clyomon and Clamydes* and *Common Conditions* belong nearly to the same class, with the exception, that the latter was merely an interlude: both consist very much of the loves and adventures of knights-errant, and in both characters originally belonging only to Morals

are inserted. In *Sir Clyomon and Clamydes*, besides the Vice, there is a personification of Rumour, who conveys intelligence to different parties, and the descent of God's Providence, also personified, saves the life of one of the heroines. The whole performance bears marks of antiquity—it is almost entirely in long rhimes of fourteen syllables, and Alexander the Great*, who is made contemporary with his vassals, the Kings of Denmark and Suavia, talks much in the style of Herod or Pilate in the old Miracle-plays: this may be seen in the subsequent brief extract—

'What fort, or force, or castle strong have I not battered downe,
'What Prince is he that now by me his princely seate and crowne
'Doth not acknowledge for to hold? Not one the world throughout
'But of King Alexander's power they all do stand in doubt.
'They feare as fowles that hovering flie from out the fawcon's way,
'As lambe the lyon, so my power the stowtest do obey.
'In field who hath not felt my force, where battering blowes abound?
'King or Keysar, who hath not fixt his knees to me on ground?'

The piece is an absurd jumble of improbabilities, with a variety of adventures of love and war, by land and by sea: in order to multiply them, a

* His entrance is thus marked—'Enter King Alexander the Great, as valiantly set forth as may be, and as many souldiers as can.'

cowardly enchanter, named Bryan Sansfoy, is employed, who keeps a dreadful dragon in the 'Forest of Marvels,' which, of course, is to be conquered by one of the knights, and the head presented to the lady of his love. After it has been slain by Clamydes, Bryan Sansfoy casts him asleep, puts on his armour, hastens to the court of Denmark, and imposes himself upon Juliana, (the mistress of Clamydes,) as her true knight. When Clamydes, just afterwards, arrives, she and her friends refuse to acknowledge him until, a tournament to settle the dispute being appointed, Bryan Sansfoy, rather than fight, admits the fraud he has practised. The reconcilement of Clamydes and Juliana is very cordial and sudden—

'*Juliana.* Is this Clamydes? ah! worthy knight, then do forgive thy deere,
'And welcome eke ten thousand times unto thy lady heere.
'*Clamydes.* Ah! my Juliana bright, what's past I do forgive,
'For well I see thou constant art; and whilst that I do live,
'For this my firmed faith in thee I ever will repose.
'*Juliana.* O father, now I do deny that wretch, and do amongst my foes
'Recount him for his treason wrought.'

The only portion of the play which has the slightest pretension to literary merit relates to a different pair of lovers, Sir Clyomon and Neronis, the daughter of the king of 'the Island of Strange Marshes.' She disguises herself as a page, and follows Sir Clyomon,

encountering a variety of hardships, and acting also at one time as the servant of Clamydes. The following is part of a lyrical soliloquy given to her, in a peculiar measure, with a reduplication of rhymes—

'How can that tree, but withered be,
'That wanteth sap to moist the roote?
'How can that vine, but waste and pine,
'Whose plants are troden under foote?
'How can that spray, but soone decay,
'That is with wild weeds overgrowne?
'How can that wight in ought delight,
'Which showes and hath no good will shone?'

It is almost impossible to suppose that such a performance could have been represented at, or even near the date when it was printed.

It has been shown in the 'Annals of the Stage,' that between 1580 and 1590 the Queen and court were principally entertained by public performers, who acted under her name, and under the names of some of her chief nobility: the plays were usually chosen by the Master of the Revels from among those which the companies were in the habit of exhibiting before popular audiences; but the Inns of Court now and then volunteered their services for the representation, in the presence of the Queen, of some play which had been written and got up by their members. The gentlemen of Gray's Inn especially distinguished themselves in this manner at various periods; and on the 28th of February, 1587, they acted at Greenwich a tragedy, which ought not to be passed over without particular notice. The main

body of the piece was written by a student of Gray's Inn named Thomas Hughes, and it is called *The Misfortunes of Arthur**: it is on all accounts a remarkable production; and so well did Lord Bacon (then a Member of Gray's Inn, in his twenty-eighth year) think of it, that he condescended to assist in the invention and preparation of the dumb-shows by which the performance was varied and illustrated. His coadjutors in this duty were Christopher Yelverton, who, more than twenty years before, had furnished an epilogue to Gascoyne's *Jocasta*, and a person of the name of John Lancaster. An 'Introduction' was contributed by Nicholas Trotte, also of Gray's Inn, and additional speeches and choruses were prepared by William Fulbecke and Francis Flower. The general plan of the piece resembles that of the celebrated work of Sackville and Norton; and although, as in *Ferrex and Porrex*, the unities of time and place are violated, the author of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* has endeavoured to adhere to most of the forms observed by the Greeks and Romans; his object being, perhaps, by a stricter rule of composition, to distinguish his tragedy from such as were at that date popular, and were represented by ordinary companies of players. With the latter, action often supplied the

* The Duke of Devonshire has a copy of it in his valuable collection: the only other known is among the Garrick plays in the Museum. In 1598, according to Henslowe's Diary, Richard Hathway wrote a play under the title of 'The Life of Arthur, King of England,' possibly a revival of the piece before us, as *Ferrex and Porrex* had been revived by a different hand.

place of dialogue, but here dialogue and description supply the place of action: little or nothing is done upon the stage, and the most decisive battles are represented in narrative by the 'weighty Nuntius.'

The story is this:—Arthur, having gone into Gaul with a large army to resist the demand of tribute made by Rome, has left his kingdom of England under the government of his Queen Guenevora and Mordred, his son, who had been borne to him by his sister Anna. Mordred revolts from his allegiance, and makes successful love to his step-mother, Guenevora: to maintain his usurpation, he engages the Irish, Picts, Normans, and Saxons on his side, and resists the landing of Arthur at Dover, where Mordred is defeated and driven into Cornwall: another engagement occurs there, and, after dreadful slaughter on both sides, Arthur kills Mordred, and Mordred Arthur. Guenevora withdraws into a convent, when she hears of the return of Arthur, and there she remains. The plot, therefore, in itself is sufficiently disagreeable, and full of adultery, incest, and murder, and the author has not rendered it more inviting by the manner in which he has treated it. Nevertheless, Hughes was certainly a man of very considerable talent: his language is often vigorous, his thoughts striking and natural, and his blank-verse (in which the whole production, with the exception of two of the choruses, is written) more rich, varied and harmonious, than that of any dramatic author who preceded him as a writer of plays not designed for

popular exhibition. It is to be recollected, however, that in 1587 he might have had the example of Marlow before him, who had already produced his *Tamberlaine* upon the public stage. Such lines as the following are, both in sentiment and expression, superior to any that can be pointed out in *Ferrex and Porrex,* or *Jocasta.* They are an apostrophe by Arthur to England, when, on his return a conqueror from Gaul, he finds that he must still continue in arms and fight for his throne upon the bosom of his native country.

'Thou soil, which erst Diana did ordain
'The certain seat and bower of wandering Brute;
'Thou realm, which aye I reverence as my saint,
'Thou stately Britain, th' ancient type of Troy,
'Bear with my forced wrongs!—I am not he
'That willing would impeach thy peace with wars.'

Again, after the last battle in which Mordred is slain and Arthur mortally wounded, the latter, with his dying breath, exclaims—

'Well, so it was: it cannot be redress'd;
'The greater is my grief that sees it so.
'My life, I feel, doth fade, and sorrows flow,
'The rather that my name is thus extinct.
'In this respect, so Mordred did succeed,
'Oh, that myself had fallen and Mordred liv'd!
'That having conquer'd all my foes but him,
'I might have left you him that conquer'd me.
'Oh, heavy wretched lot, to be the last
'That falls!—To view the burial of my realm,
'Where each man else hath felt his several fate,
'I only pine oppress'd with all their fates!'

Here the pauses are skilfully managed and judiciously introduced, although we find no other marked symptoms of improvement beyond the general fluency of the rhythm. The character of Mordred is powerfully drawn, and his ambition, reckless fury, and youthful confidence, are well contrasted with the milder, more cautious, but not less courageous nature of his father. In a scene in Act i., where his friend Conan warns him against the wrong he was about to offer to his sire, Mordred bursts out,

'Come, son, come, sire, I first prefer myself;
'And since a wrong must be, then it excells
'When 'tis to gain a crown. I hate a peer:
'I loathe, I irk, I do detest a head!
'Be it nature, be it reason, be it pride,
'I love to rule! My mind nor with, nor by,
'Nor after any claims, but chief and first!'

Afterwards, in Act ii., adverting to Arthur's courage and conquests, he says:—

'He that envies the valour of his foe,
'Detects a want of valour in himself.
'He fondly fights, that fights with such a foe,
'Where 'twere a shame to lose, no praise to win;
'But with a famous foe, succeed what will,
'To win is great renown, to lose less foil.
'His conquests, were they more, dismay me not:
'The oftner they have been, the more they threat;
'No danger can be thought both safe and oft;
'And who hath oftner waged wars than he?
'Escapes secure him not—he owes the price.
'Whom chance hath often miss'd chance hits at length;
'Or if that chance hath further'd his success,
'So may she mine—for chance hath made me King!'

Macbeth, it will be recollected, congratulates himself that 'chance will have him king;' and expresses his hope that chance would 'further his success,' and crown him.

In the same scene, Gawin, one of Mordred's allies, reminds him of the peril of defeat to which he exposed himself; and Mordred replies, in a noble spirit of daring,

'I bear no breast so unprepar'd for harms.
'Ev'n that I hold the kingliest point of all
'To brook misfortunes well; and by how much
'The more his state and tott'ring empire swags,
'To fix so much the faster foot on ground.
'No fear but doth forejudge, and many fall
'Into their fate, while they do fear their fate.
'Where courage quails, the fear exceeds the harm:
'Yea, worse than war itself is fear of war.'

It cannot be denied that Hughes is here and there indebted to Seneca and others for some of his thoughts, as in the last line, which is the well-known *pejor est bello timor ipse belli* of the chorus to Act iii. of *Thyestes*. It will, however, not be disputed, that the lines I have quoted must have been the work of a man of no common talent, and that a piece which contains such passages, and many more scarcely inferior, deserves to be rescued from oblivion. Of Thomas Hughes, I believe, nothing more is known, than that he was 'one of the Society of Gray's Inn.'

Two years after the above tragedy had been played and printed, another piece, of a very different character, was published, which also, on the title-page, pro-

fesses to have been performed in the presence of the Queen. It is a production of the utmost rarity, only one copy of it being known * ; but in point of positive merit as a drama, it would require a comparatively brief notice. It is entitled *The rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* †, and the principal design of the author seems to have been, to compose a court entertainment, which should at least possess the requisites of show and variety. The best portion may be considered the induction, in which Jupiter, Juno, and all the heathen Gods and Goddesses are either exhibited or engaged, together with the fury Tysiphone: the first stage direction shows the nature of the assembly, which must be supposed to take place on Olympus :—'Enter 'Mercury: then riseth a Fury: then enter the assem- 'bly of the Gods; Jupiter with Juno; Apollo with 'Minerva; Mars and Saturn: after, Vulcan with 'Venus. The Fury sets debate amongst them, and 'after Jupiter speaks as followeth.'

He demands the reason of 'this mutiny,' not at first seeing Tysiphone: at last he perceives her, and asks,

* It is in the collection at Bridgewater-House, to which I obtained ready access by the kindness of Lord F. Leveson Gower, who placed that most rare assemblage of books at my disposal.

† The full title runs as follows :—'The Rare Triumphes of Love and 'Fortune. Plaide before the Queenes most excellent Majestie: wherin 'are many fine Conceites with great delight. At London. Printed 'by E. A. for Edward White, and are to be solde at the little North 'doore of S. Paules Church, at the signe of the Gunne. 1589. 4to.' B. l.

——— 'Thou Fury fell,
'Bred in the dungeon of the deepest hell,
'Who causeth thee to show thy selfe in light?
'And what thy message is, I charge thee tell upright.'

By far the greater part of the production is in rhyme, intermixed with prose, the blank-verse being confined to the induction: even here, as is proved by the passage just quoted, rhymes are frequent. It will be seen hereafter, when speaking of Marlow, that I attribute to him the introduction of blank-verse upon the public stage at least two years before this piece was printed; and judging merely from internal evidence, I am inclined to believe, that the induction, some interlocutory matter between the acts (for it has five regular divisions), and the conclusion, were of more recent authorship than the main body of the story *. This circumstance will account for the insertion of blank-verse, which was then fast superseding rhyme. The measure, whether blank-verse or rhyme, is often extremely careless and irregular, as may be seen from the opening of the reply of Tysiphone to the demand of Jupiter.

'O Jupiter, thou dreadfull king, of gods and men the father hie,
'To whose commaund the heavens, the earth, and lowest hell obey,
'Tysiphone, the daughter of eternall night,
'Bred in the bottome of the deepest pit of hell,
'Brought up in blood, and cherisht with scrauling snakes,

* 'A history of *Love and Fortune*' was played before Elizabeth in 1582. See the 'Annals of the Stage' of that date.

'Tormenting therewithall the damned soules of them
'Heer upon earth, that carelesse live of thy commaundement.
'I am the same.'

It is clear that these lines have been ill regulated by the printer:—they would run better thus; but still no change, without a change of words, would make measure of part of what is above quoted.

'O Jupiter, thou dreadfull king, of gods
'And men the father hie, to whose commaund
'The heavens, the earth, and lowest hell obey,
'Tysiphone, the daughter of eternall night,
'Bred in the bottom of the deepest pitt of hell,
'Brought up in blood and cherisht with scrauling snakes,
'Tormenting therewithall the damned soules
'Of them heer upon earth, that carelesse live
'Of thy commaundement—I am the same.'

After delivering this answer, she proceeds in a new measure of twelve-syllable blank-verse:—

'I am the same whom both my lothsom sisters hate,
'Whom hell itself complaines to keep within her race,
'Whom every fearfull soule detesteth with a curse.'

She then relates, in the same kind of verse, that she had been sent to Olympus by Pluto, 'King of hell and golden mines,' to complain that Venus had proudly endeavoured to destroy the power of Fortune, in order that she might be thought 'the only goddess of the world.' Jupiter requires to hear Fortune, and while Tysiphone is gone to hell for her, and in her absence, in ten-syllable rhymes, calls upon Venus for her justification. She asserts her supe-

riority in alternate twelve and fourteen-syllable lines, and denies the power of Fortune over the mind:—

'Yet divers things there be that Fortune cannot tame,
'As are the riches of the minde, or else an honest name,
'Or a contented hart, still free from Fortune's power.'

Fortune, when she arrives, maintains her original accusation; after which, at the bidding of Jupiter, Mercury exhibits six dumb shows of persons slain by Love or Fortune, viz., Troilus and Cressida, Alexander, Dido, Pompey, Cæsar, and Hero and Leander. Music is played during the spectacle.

In the intervals between each, Mercury interprets and explains, and Vulcan comments with some humour, but more grossness, sometimes alluding to the manners of the day; as, for instance, of Cæsar and Pompey he observes,

'They were served well enough: why could not they be content
'With a roche and a red herring in the holy time of Lent?'

from whence we may, perhaps, infer that the piece was performed before the Queen, as was customary, at Shrovetide. Venus and Fortune afterwards renew their contention, and Jupiter interposes:—

'Content ye both, I'le hear no more of this;
'And, Mercury, surcease, call out no more.
'I have bethought me how to worke their wishe,
'As you have often prov'd it heertofore.
'Heere in this land, within that princely bower,
'There is a Prince beloved of his love,
'On whom I meane your soverainties to prove.
'Venus, for that thy love, thy sweet delight,

'Thou shalt endure to encrease their joy,
'And, Fortune, thou to manifest thy might,
'Their pleasures and their pastimes thou shalt destroye,
'Overthwarting them with newes of freshe anoye:
'And she that most can please them or dispight,
'I will confirme to be of greatest might.

The Prince and 'his love' are Hermione, a young courtier, and Fidelia, daughter to Duke Phizantius; and then follows a silly, meagre story (commencing with the second act) of Fidelia's escape from her father's court, in search of her lover who had been banished, and who has taken shelter with an old necromancer called Bomelio, who afterwards turns out to be the father of Hermione. Fidelia is pursued by her brother Armenio, who is struck dumb by Bomelio, and subsequently restored to speech by the blood of Fidelia, flowing from a slight wound inflicted by her own father. In the end Hermione and Fidelia are united, all parties are reconciled, and the old magician, having lost his books, (which were taken away by his son,) renounces his art. At the end of the acts, the triumphs of Venus and Fortune are alternately sounded by different instruments, as each goddess has been successful in aiding or defeating the lovers: the success of Venus is celebrated by 'a noise of viols,' while 'trumpets, drums, cornets, and guns' resound for Fortune. The best lines in that part of the performance which relates to the lovers are the following, part of a soliloquy by Bomelio.

'Now weary lay thee downe thy fortune to fulfill,
'Goe yeeld thee captive to thy care to save thy life, or spill.

'The pleasures of the feelde, the prospect of delight,
'The blooming trees, the chirping birdes, are greevous
to thy sight;
'The hollow craggy rocke, the shriking owle to see,
'To heare the noyse of serpentes hisse—that is thy her-
mony.
'For as unto the sicke all pleasure is in vaine,
'So mirth unto the wounded minde encreaseth but his
pain.'

The piece ends with a speech from Fortune, who has been reconciled to Venus by Jupiter, and who compliments the Queen in a strain of less adulation than usual.

There is a species of dramatic representation, different from any of which we have yet spoken, and which may be said to form a class of itself:—it may be called domestic tragedy, and pieces of this kind were founded upon comparatively recent events in our own country. Of these several are extant, such as *Arden of Feversham*, the story of which relates to a murder committed in the reign of Edward VI.; *A Warning for Fair Women*, arising out of a similar event in 1573; *Two Tragedies in one*, part of which is founded upon the assassination of a merchant of London of the name of Beech, by a person called Thomas Merry *, and

* This play was by Robert Yarrington, and it deserves notice, inasmuch as two very different stories, occurring in two distant countries, England and Italy, are brought into one play, forming a double plot, without the slightest connexion between the two. One of them, as is stated above, dramatically related the events connected with the murder of a Mr. Beech, in Thames-street; and the other is upon the story of 'The Babes in the Wood,' the difference being, that in the latter there

The Fair Maid of Bristol, which had its origin also in a recent tragical incident: indeed, it seems to have been the constant practice of the dramatists of that day, to avail themselves (like the ballad-makers) of any circumstances of the kind, which attracted attention, in order to construct them into a play; often treating the subject merely as a dramatic narrative of a known occurrence, without embellishing, or aiding it with the ornaments of invention. Shakespeare is supposed to have been concerned, at least, in one production of this description, *The Yorkshire Tragedy* (founded

was only one child concerned, instead of two. The scene alternates, exactly at the will of the author, between England and Italy, and it is the only piece, precisely of this kind, with which I am acquainted. It was printed in 1601; but the murder of Beech had been adopted as the subject for another play, by Haughton and Day, as appears by Henslowe's Diary, where in one place it is called 'The tragedy of Thomas Merry,' and in another, 'Mr. Beech's Tragedy,' under the date of November 1599. Henslowe's MS. also contains traces of several other pieces of the same kind, as 'The Stepmother's Tragedy,' 'The Tragedy of John Cox of Collumpton,' 'The Lamentable Tragedy of Page of Plymouth,' 'Black Bateman of the North,' &c. &c. 'The Lamentable Tragedy of Page of Plymouth,' which he found in Henslowe's Diary spelt in various ways, puzzled Malone past his finding out; but had he turned to the works of Taylor the Water Poet, 1630, fol. p. 135, a book he has over and over again quoted, but, it seems, little read, he would have found all his difficulty removed, for there, in reference to a recent murder by a person of the name of John Rowse, Taylor says, 'Arden 'of Feversham, and Page of Plymouth, both their murders are fresh 'in memory, and the fearful ends of their wives and aiders, in those 'bloody actions, will never be forgotten.' *The Lamentable Tragedy of Page of Plymouth* was, in fact, nothing more than a play, like *Arden of Feversham*, founded upon an actual occurrence.

upon an event in 1604), which was played at the Globe theatre, and printed with Shakespeare's name in 1608. The internal evidence, however, of Shakespeare's authorship is much stronger than the external, and there are some speeches which could scarcely have proceeded from any other pen *. It has been also said in

* I am aware that this has not been the general opinion of the commentators, which might confirm the belief that Shakespeare had at least something to do with the authorship of *The Yorkshire Tragedy*. The story is very simply treated, according to the facts which were then public, and which had been put into the form of a ballad, and sung about the streets. I doubt if Shakespeare would have taken such a subject of his own choice; but perhaps he yielded to the necessity of the case, and therefore contributed this one of four short plays presented on the same night. It is to be remarked, that it is the only one of the four plays that has been preserved: the three others, being by persons of less note, the bookseller, perhaps, did not think it would be to his advantage to publish, when he printed *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, as the work of Shakespeare, in 1608. I refer especially to the first speech of the wife, when she is lamenting over the ruin her husband is bringing upon his family by his passion for gaming, beginning,

'What will become of us? All will away!
'My husband never ceases in expense,
'Both to consume his credit and his house;
'And 'tis set down by Heaven's just decree,
'That riot's child must needs be beggary,' &c.

The lines in a subsequent speech, by the husband,

'Divines and dying men may talk of hell,
'But in my heart her several torments dwell,'

are borrowed by him from Nash's *Pierce Penniless' Supplication*, 1593, of which the commentators, who are usually good at little else, were not aware; and Steevens, anxious to make a note, refers to a parallel passage in Rowe's *Tamerlane*. S. N., whoever he might be, who wrote *Acolastus his Afterwitte* in 1600, stole these lines, among his other

comparatively modern times, and by no very competent judge, that he was the author of another of the domestic tragedies, the titles of which I have mentioned—*Arden of Feversham*, which was printed anonymously, first in 1592, and performed probably a year or two earlier; so that if our great dramatist had any thing to do with it, it must have been one of his very earliest compositions. It was reprinted in 1599 and 1633, and again in 1770, by Jacob, who was the first (upon the strength of certain parallel passages, or passages which he thought parallel) to assign it to Shakespeare. He generally selects mere conventional expressions, and common phrases in proof of his hypothesis; and proceeding upon this, and even upon more extended principles of taste and criticism, it would not be difficult to make out a claim on the part of our great dramatist to a share in many other theatrical productions, besides those in which he was actually engaged: the *Warning for Fair Women*, for instance*, might be

manifold and barefaced plagiaries, some of them from *Venus and Adonis*, and *The Rape of Lucrece*:—he says,

'If on the earth there may be found a Hell,
'Within my soule her several torments dwell.'

* The *Warning for Fair Women* was printed in 1599, but is certainly considerably older. It relates to the murder of a London merchant, of the name of Sanders, by Brown, the paramour of his wife, and we shall here find several resemblances to passages in Shakespeare's undisputed plays. Before he assassinates Sanders, Brown thus invokes the night—

'Oh, sable night, sit on the eye of heaven,
'That it discern not this black deed of darkness!

given to him on grounds quite as plausible as those applicable to *Arden of Feversham*. As *Arden of Feversham* is the earliest printed specimen of this species of drama, and as upon all accounts it

Every body will recollect the passage in Macbeth (Act iii. Scene 2) beginning—

——— 'Come seeling night,
'Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day, &c.'

Again, after the murder, Brown says—

——— 'I gave him fifteen wounds,
'Which now be fifteen mouths that do accuse me:
'In every wound there is a bloody tongue,
'Which will all speak, although he hold his peace.'

Compare this with Antony's speech in Julius Cæsar, Act iii. Scene 2—

'Show you sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor, poor dumb mouths, &c.
'——————— and put a tongue
'In every wound of Cæsar,' &c.

A third parallel passage, as it may be called, is to be found later in the play, where Anne Sanders entreats Mrs. Drewry, an accomplice, not to betray her—

——— 'Now is the hour come
'To put your love unto the touch, to try
'If it be current or but counterfeit'—

which will instantly bring to mind the address of Richard III. (Act v. Scene 2) to Buckingham—

——— 'Now do I play the touch,
'To try if thou be current gold indeed.'

But the resemblance in *A Warning for Faire Women* is not merely verbal: the speeches of Anne Sanders, the repentant wife, in the following extract, are Shakespearean in a much better sense. But for the extreme rarity of this tragedy, it might ere now have been attributed to Shakespeare—

'*Drewry.* See where Master Brown is: in him take comfort,
'And learn to temper your excessive grief.
'*Anne.* Ah, bid me feed on poison and be fat,
'Or look upon the basilisk and live;
'Or surfeit daily and be still in health,

deserves attention, I shall adopt it as an illustration of this part of the subject; not meaning, however, at all to be understood to join in the conclusion that Shakespeare had any hand in it, although it contains characters strongly drawn, and some passages of no mean rank in the scale of poetry.

I have already said that the event on which it was founded occurred in the reign of Edward VI.*, and perhaps it was brought upon the stage as early as the

'Or leap into the sea and not be drownd.
'All these are even as possible as this,
'That I should be recomforted by him
'That is the author of my whole lament.
'*Browne.* Why, mistress Anne, I love you dearly,
'And but for your incomparable beauty,
'My soul had never dreamt of Sanders' death.
'Then give me that which now I do deserve,
'Yourself, your love; and I will be to you
'A husband so devote as none more just,
'Or more affectionate shall tread this earth.
'*Anne.* If you can crave it of me with a tongue
'That hath not been profan'd with wicked vows,
'Or think it in a heart did never harbour
'Pretence of murder, or put forth a hand
'As not contaminate with shedding blood,
'Then will I willingly grant your request.
'But, oh, your hand, your heart, your tongue, and eye,
'Are all presenters of my misery.'

* The name ought properly to be written *Arderne of Feversham*, as we find it in the following extract from the Registers of the Privy Council, under date of 15th of June, 1551, the murder upon which the tragedy is founded having been perpetrated in that year. 'A letter to 'Sir William Godolphine, knight, of thankes for his diligence in the 'apprehension of Black Will, that killed Mr. Arderne of Feversham, 'and to sende him saufe-guarde, with promise of payment for the 'charges of the bringers.'

year 1578, when *Murderous Michael* was performed before the Queen, Michael being a very prominent personage, and one of the assassins of Arden. Possibly the play, as it was printed in 1592, might be founded upon this elder performance, although Michael, in *Arden of Feversham*, is one of the least guilty of the whole party concerned in the murder. His character may be judged from the following speech, when contemplating the murder of Arden, his master—

'Conflicting thoughts encamped in my breast
'Awake me with the echo of their strokes,
'And I, a judge to censure either side,
'Can give to neither wished victory. . .
'That grim-fac'd villain, pityless Black-Will,
'And Shakebag, stern in bloody stratagem, . .
'Have sworn my death if I infringe my vow,
'A dreadful thing to be consider'd of.
'Methinks, I see them with their bolster'd hair,
'Staring and grinning in thy gentle face;
'And in their ruthless hands their daggers drawn
'Insulting o'er thee with a peck of oaths,
'Whilst thou submissive, pleading for relief,
'Art mangled by their ireful instruments.
'Methinks I hear them ask where Michael is,
'And pityless Black Will cries "Stab, the slave!
'The peasant will detect the tragedy."
'The wrinkles in his foul death-threatening face
'Gape open wide, like graves, to swallow men*.'

Here, with some mixture of absurdity, there is unquestionably poetry, both in the outset and conclusion, although without regard to propriety it is put into the mouth of a menial. Here Jacob missed at least

* My quotations are from the rare edition of 1599, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

as strong a proof as any he has adduced of Shakespeare's instrumentality in this play, in the use of the word 'bolstered,' in the line,—

'Methinks, I see them with their bolster'd hair,

which, though spelt somewhat differently, would have afforded a useful illustration of the 'blood *bolter'd* Banquo' in Macbeth, A. iv. Sc. 1., much wanted by the commentators, who could find no instance of the use of such a word in any other author.

The plot of the tragedy is merely this—Alice the wife of Arden, a merchant of Feversham, is in love with Mosbie, a man of low extraction, in the same place: they determine upon the murder of Arden; and when he goes to London on business, they employ three assassins, Black-Will, Shakebag, and Greene, together with Michael, Arden's servant, for the purpose. The attempt fails in London, and Arden, returning to Feversham, is followed by the ruffians who had been hired: they again endeavour to accomplish their purpose while Arden is journeying in the isle of Sheppey; but are again disappointed, their victim on both occasions being, as it were, providentially saved. At last they are reduced to the necessity of murdering Arden in his own house: Mosbie sits down with him to play at tables, and Black-Will, Shakebag, and Greene rush in from behind, and, in the presence of and with the aid of Alice Arden, Mosbie's sister Susan, and Michael, Arden is stabbed. His body is secretly conveyed to a field behind the house, but blood is found upon the floor, and the footsteps of the mur-

derers are traced in the snow, which had unexpectedly fallen. Mrs. Arden and Mosbie confess, and, together with Susan and Michael, (who are in love with each other,) are carried out to execution. The epilogue informs us that Shakebag was eventually murdered in Southwark, Black-Will burnt at Flushing, and Greene hanged.

The characters are drawn with some force and distinctness. Arden is a kind-hearted husband, and his wife bad only in consequence of her fatal attachment to Mosbie, which leads her, step by step, to the last stage of guilt, but amid constant misgivings and feminine resolutions of virtue. Professor Tieck (who has translated this play into German with admirable skill and fidelity, and who is more than inclined to think that Shakespeare was the author of it) observes that Mosbie is 'always low and wicked *;' but when we find the following lines uttered by him in the earlier part of the play, before the murder has been perpetrated, it cannot be denied that even he has something redeeming about him—

'Well fares the man howe'er his cates do taste
'That tables not with foul suspicion;
'And he but pines amongst his delicates
'Whose troubled mind is stuff'd with discontent.
'My golden time was when I had no gold:
'Though then I wanted, yet I slept secure.
'My daily toil begat my night's repose;

* *Mosbie ist immer gemein und schlecht*—Vorrede to his *Shakespeare's Vorschule*, p. xxv.

'My night's repose made daylight fresh to me;
'But since I clim'd the top bough of the tree,
'And sought to build my nest among the clouds,
'Each gentle stirring gale * doth shake my bed,
'And makes me dread my downfall to the earth.
'But whither doth contemplation carry me?
'The way I seek to find, where pleasure dwells,
'Is hedg'd behind me, that I cannot back,
'But needs must on, although to danger's gate.'

Independent of particular speeches, there is certainly one fine scene between Mosbie and Alice, which immediately succeeds what is above quoted, and in the opening of which Alice, with a prayer-book in her hand, struggles hard to return to virtue, but her strength failing, she at last abandons herself to the guidance of her guilty passion. Mosbie asks her, in the commencement, 'What, are you changed,' and she replies with exquisite pathos—

'Aye—to my former happy life again:
'From title of an odious strumpet's name
'To honest Arden's wife—not Arden's honest wife.
'Ah, Mosbie, 'tis thou hast rifled me of that,
'And made me slanderous to all my kin!'

Mosbie reproaches her, threatens to leave her for ever, and her fears take instant alarm—

'Nay, hear me speak, Mosbie, a word or two:
'I'll bite my tongue if it speak bitterly.
'Look on me, Mosbie, or I'll kill myself!
'Nothing shall hide me from thy stormy look.

* I have here taken a liberty with the text where this expression stands 'Each gentle *stary* gaile,' &c. A *stary* or *starry* gale is nonsense.

'If thou cry war, there is no peace for me:
'I will do penance for offending thee,
'And burn this prayer-book, where I here use,
'The holy word that hath converted me.
'See, Mosbie, I will tear away the leaves,
'And all the leaves; and in this golden cover
'Shall thy sweet phrases and thy letters dwell;
'And thereon will I chiefly meditate,
'And hold no other sect but such devotion!'

Had Mosbie been drawn merely 'low and wicked,' Alice would have been without excuse for her infidelity to Arden, and her blind love for her paramour. After the detection of the murder, and when they are on their way to the place of punishment, Mosbie, with a want of generosity consistent with his character, instead of pitying Alice, abuses her. Alice says—

'Leave now to trouble me with worldly things,
'And let me meditate upon my Saviour Christ,
'Whose blood must save me for the blood I shed.
'*Mosbie.* How long shall I live in this hell of grief?
'Convey me from the presence of that strumpet.
'*Alice.* Ah, but for thee I had never been a strumpet!
'What cannot oaths and protestations do
'When men have opportunity to woo?
'I was too young to sound thy villanies,
'But now I find it, and repent too late.'

We have thus arrived at about the period when it is probable that Shakespeare began to write for the stage; and there seems every reason for supposing that he employed himself, in the first instance, in reviving, altering and adding to the works of older dramatists. There are six plays, four of which were acted a

shorter or a longer time before Shakespeare commenced dramatist, and upon which he is said by Steevens (who published them collectively in 1779) to have 'founded' six of his productions: to these it will be necessary now to advert, in order to show (as far as these 'six old plays' will enable us to do so) the state of the drama prior to the era of Shakespeare, and to establish the degree in which he was indebted to the works of earlier writers. It has been a growing opinion, founded upon progressive discoveries, that our great dramatist touched comparatively few subjects that had not been previously brought upon the public stage.

ON THE

SIX OLD PLAYS

TO WHICH SHAKESPEARE WAS, OR IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN INDEBTED.

THE six old plays on which, it is asserted by Steevens, Shakespeare 'founded' his *Measure for Measure*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, *Henry the Fifth* and *King Lear* are the following:—

The History of Promos and Cassandra, printed in 1578.

The Troublesome Reign of King John, printed in 1591.

The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, acted prior to 1588, probably published in 1594, and certainly printed in 1598.

The Taming of the Shrew, printed in 1594.

The Chronicle History of Leir, King of England, probably published in 1594, and certainly printed in 1605.

Menæchmi, taken out of Plautus, printed in 1595.

When Steevens reprinted these pieces in 1779, he ventured upon no argument nor explanation to prove how, and to what extent Shakespeare was under obliga-

tion to their authors: with respect to the last, of which I shall speak first, it may now be taken for granted that he did not make the slightest use of it. *Menæchmi taken out of Plautus*, by W. W. (perhaps W. Warner,) did not appear, in all probability, until several years after *The Comedy of Errors* (which has been supposed to be founded upon it) had been brought upon the stage. Malone assigns *The Comedy of Errors* to 1592, and we may conclude with tolerable safety that it had its origin in that or in the following year. Although there is no trace of any similarity between it and the translation of the *Menæchmi* by W. W., yet there is little doubt that *The Comedy of Errors* was founded upon an older English play, which was an adaptation of the *Menæchmi* much anterior to 1595. On new-year's night 1576-7, the children of Paul's acted *The History of Error* at Hampton Court. This fact is recorded by Malone*, but he has not remarked also, that it was repeated on Twelfth-night, 1582-3; for although by mistake, in the account of the Revels at that date, it is called 'A History of *Ferrar*,' the person who made out the list of plays, writing from the sound only, meant probably the same piece as the *History of Error*. This play may have been the foundation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, and the circumstance, that he borrowed certain parts from the old *History of Error*, will explain all that the commentators have said regarding doggrel

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iv. 151.

verses, and the apparent authorship of two different persons in the same play. The doggrel fourteen-syllable verses given to the Dromios are precisely such as were used in dramatic performances not long before the period when Shakespeare began to write for the stage; and, as Malone himself has observed, he most likely obtained the designations of Antipholus *erraticus* and Antipholus *surreptus*, which are found in the old copy of the *Comedy of Errors* *, from this source. We may, therefore, very safely dismiss from our consideration the translation of *Menæchmi* by W. W., on the grounds, that Shakespeare did not use it, and that it was not printed until some time after he had commenced his theatrical career.

It is, I think, equally certain that the other five old plays, above enumerated, were written anterior to the date of any of Shakespeare's productions: four of them were published anonymously, and there is by no means sufficient ground for the supposition entertained by some of the German critics, that they were the juvenile works of our great dramatist, who subsequently altered and improved them. They bear no resemblance to his style, as exhibited in his undoubted performances; and nothing is more clear than that at the time when he commenced his career, and afterwards, it was the constant custom for dramatic poets to revive, amend, and make additions to, productions which had once

* It was not printed until it appeared in the folio of 1623. Meres mentions it in 1598.

been popular, but which required novelty and adaptation to the improvements of the age. Judging from internal and external evidence, I should be inclined to place the five old plays in the following order, with reference to the dates at which they were produced, and according to that arrangement I shall speak of each:—1. *Promos and Cassandra.* 2. *Henry the Fifth.* 3. *King John.* 4. *King Leir.* 5. *Taming of a Shrew.*

Promos and Cassandra was written by a poet of considerable celebrity in his day, George Whetstone, and it came from the press of Richard Jones in 1578: it is divided into a first and second part; and, perhaps, the most remarkable circumstance connected with the performance is one that has not hitherto been noticed, viz.; that the first part is entirely in rhyme, while in the second are inserted considerable portions of blank-verse, put only into the mouth of the King, as if it better suited the royal dignity. This fact might appear to militate against the position, elsewhere maintained in this work, that blank-verse was not employed upon the common, popular stage until 1586 or 1587, did we not know that *Promos and Cassandra* never was performed, either in public or private. Whetstone himself gives us this information, in his *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, 1582: he there inserts a translation of the original novel on which he constructed his play *, and in a marginal note he ob-

* From *La Seconda Parte de gli Hecatommithi di M. Giovanbatista Giraldi Cinthio.* Deca 8, Nov. 5, p. 415. Edit. 1565.

serves: 'this Historie, for rarenes therof, is lively set 'out in a Comedie by the Reporter of the whole 'worke, but yet never presented upon stage.' It is likely that there was some interval between the penning of the first and of the second parts of *Promos and Cassandra*, and that in that interval the author had acquired a taste for blank-verse, and therefore employed it, never designing the piece for popular representation, for which on this account, among others, he might think it unfit. The year 1578 is an early date for the use of blank-verse for dramatic purposes, and a short extract will show sufficiently that Whetstone had not much improved upon the few examples already set. The King first addresses Cassandra, (who answers to Shakespeare's Isabella,) who has appealed to him, and he afterwards turns to Promos, the wicked deputy.

'Thy forced fault was free from evill intent,
'So long, no shame can blot thee any way;
'And though at full I hardly may content thee,
'Yet, as I may assure thyselfe I wyl.—
'Thou wycked man, might it not thee suffice,
'By worse then force to spoyle her chastitie,
'But, heaping sinne on sinne, against thy oth
'Hast cruelly her brother done to death?
'This over proofe ne can but make me thinke
'That many waies thou hast my subjectes wrongd;
'For how canst thou with justice use thy swaie,
'When thou thy selfe dost make thy will a lawe?
'Thy tyranny made mee this progresse make,
'How so for sport tyl nowe I colloured it,
'Unto this ende, that I might learne at large
'What other wronges by power thou hast wrought.'

This quotation shows also one principal variation in the conduct of the story as related by Shakespeare. In *Promos and Cassandra*, the King sends the hero as his Viceroy into Hungary; but hearing of his tyranny and misrule, he makes a 'progress' thither, as if 'for sport,' to ascertain the truth: he does not, like the Duke in *Measure for Measure*, withdraw from his court, and in disguise watch over the administration of justice by his substitute *.

It has been observed that Shakespeare in no instance adopted the names of the *dramatis personæ* of Whetstone, but this will not at all establish that he did not use *Promos and Cassandra;* for Whetstone has in like manner varied from Cinthio, whose novel he professed to follow, and where the hero is called Juriste, and the heroine Epitia. It is, however, not improbable that there was another version of the Italian tale current at the time, and possibly in a dramatic form, in which Shakespeare might find the name of Vincentio inserted in his *dramatis personæ*, although throughout the play he is only called the Duke. He may have caught Isabella from Whetstone's *Heptameron*, 1582, because there a lady of that name is made the narrator of the novel in question from Cinthio.

Although the first part of *Promos and Cassandra*

* Shakespeare may have taken his title, *Measure for Measure*, from a short moral observation in Act v., Scene 4, of the first part of *Promos and Cassandra:*

——— 'who others doth deceyve,
'Deserves himself *like measure* to receyve.'

is in rhyme, the author has introduced variety into his measure, and he changes at will from ten-syllable to fourteen-syllable lines, making them rhyme sometimes in couplets, and sometimes alternately, two of the lines having no corresponding termination: thus, when Andrugio, the brother, recommends his sister, Cassandra, to comply with the guilty wishes of Promos, as the least of two evils, she replies, with some spirit,

'And of these evils, the least, I hold, is death,
'To shun whose dart we can no mean devyse:
'Yet honor lives when death hath done his worst.
'Thus fame then lyfe is of farre more comprise.'

This, however, is a comparatively rare instance, the regularity of rhyme, either in couplets or alternate, being usually observed. Besides those engaged in the serious part of the representation, Whetstone introduced many characters, parasites, cheats, pandars, bawds, prostitutes, bullies, and rustics, in order to give variety to the performance, the story of which drags heavily through the two parts to which it is extended. A person of the name of Rosko, in *Promos and Cassandra*, fills precisely the same part as the clown in *Measure for Measure;* and he is concerned in a good deal that is meant by Whetstone for comedy, though the poet has, in very few instances, accomplished anything like his intention. The most tolerable scene of this kind is between Rosko, a rustic called Grimball, and a cutpurse of the name of Rowke. Grimball, wishing to render himself amiable in the eyes of the waiting-maid to a courtesan, is carried by

Rowke to Rosko (who pretends to be a barber), that he may be washed and trimmed. While this operation is performed, Rowke contrives to make off with Grimball's purse, and the countryman does not perceive his loss, until Rosko proceeds to pick his teeth. The dialogue of the comic portion of the piece possesses neither wit nor humour, but is sufficiently gross and coarse.

On the whole, although it seems clear that Shakespeare kept Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* in his eye, it is probable that he also made use of some other dramatic composition or novel, in which the same story was treated.

In *Measure for Measure* we have seen that Shakespeare compressed Whetstone's two plays into one, but he expanded the single play of *The famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* * over three performances, inserting hints from it in his two parts of Henry IV. and in his Henry V. He, however, also

* Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 307) inserts, from Henslowe's Diary, a notice, under the date of the 26th of May, 1597, of a play called 'Harey the *fifte* Life and Death,' and in a note he adds, 'This could 'not have been the play already mentioned, because in that Henry 'does not die; nor could it have been Shakespeare's play.' His difficulty upon this point arose simply from his not being able to read the MS. of Henslowe, where it stands, as all must acknowledge who know anything of the handwriting of the time, not 'Harey the *fifte*,' but 'Harey the *firste*,' showing that there was an old historical play upon the life and death of Henry I. The play of 'Harey the V.' is entered in Henslowe's Diary as performed on the 28th of November, 1595, being then, no doubt, a revival, with improvements, of the piece now under consideration—*The famous Victories of Henry the Fifth.*

resorted to the chroniclers, and especially to Holinshed, for other circumstances of an historical kind, while he seems to have trusted to his own resources for most of the comic characters, scenes, and incidents. *The famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* opens with a robbery committed by Prince Henry (throughout called Henry V.) and some of his wild companions, among whom is Sir John Oldcastle, a fat knight, who also goes by the familiar name of Jockey. The question whether Shakespeare did or did not take the hint of his Falstaff from this corpulent personage, and whether in fact Falstaff was not, in the first instance, called Sir John Oldcastle, is argued at length in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, xvi. 410*, &c. This point is only important, as it relates to the obligation of Shakespeare for the bare hint of such a delightful creation as Falstaff. If Shakespeare were indebted thus far, he owes little else to the old *Henry the Fifth* that can now be traced, and it certainly has not come

* Dr. Farmer (founding himself on a passage in Nathaniel Field's *Amends for Ladies*, 1618) was the first to broach this notion, and the balance of evidence seems to be decidedly in his favour: supposing the fact to be so, another question has arisen out of it, why Shakespeare subsequently made the change? It has been suggested that he did so to avoid confounding the two characters, the Sir John Oldcastle of the old *Henry the Fifth* being 'a mere pampered glutton.' The point, when he made the change, does not seem to have been examined, and at all events it is quite evident from Field's comedy that, even after the change was made, Falstaff was still known to the multitude by the name of Oldcastle. *Amends for Ladies* could not have been written before 1611, yet there Falstaff's description of honour is mentioned by a citizen of London as if it had been delivered by Sir John Oldcastle.

down to us in a shape to make it probable that he would avail himself of much that he found in it. Here and there lines more or less remotely resemble, and the strongest likeness that has yet been discovered is where, in Shakespeare, (Act v. Sc. 2,) Katherine asks, 'Is it possible dat I should love the enemy of France?' which runs thus in the older play, 'How should I love thee, which is my father's enemy?'

The play of *The famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* was entered on the Stationers' books in 1594, and although no copy of that date has been found, it was probably, as I have already remarked, then printed *: the date of its authorship was, however, more remote, and it is unquestionable that it was acted prior to 1588, because Tarleton, who is recorded to have played in it the two parts of the Judge, who was struck by Prince Henry, and Derrick, the clown, died in that year. I should be inclined to fix it not long after 1580, and it was perhaps played by the Queen's players who were selected from the companies of several noblemen in 1583, and of whom Tarleton was one. The circumstance that the whole of it is in prose deserves observation: it might be thought in 1583, or soon afterwards, that the jingle of rhyme did not well suit an historical subject on the stage, and we

* The play had, perhaps, been revived about 1592 or 1593, as Nash mentions it in his *Pierce Pennilesse*. That revival may have led Shakespeare to take up and improve the same subject; and the success of Shakespeare's play might occasion the printing of the old *Henry the Fifth* in opposition to it, or to take advantage of temporary popularity.

have learnt from Stephen Gosson, that, prior to 1579, prose plays had been acted at the Belsavage: the experiment, therefore, by the author of the old *Henry the Fifth*, was not a new one, although the present may be the earliest extant instance of an heroic story so treated *. Nevertheless, by the time it was printed, blank-verse had completely superseded both rhyme and prose: the publisher seems, on this account, to have chopped up much of the original prose into lines of various lengths in order to look like some kind of measure, and now and then he has contrived to find lines of ten syllables each, that run with tolerable smoothness, and as if they had been written for blank-verse. The following is a short example, the passage commencing with a regular verse terminated by a trochee: it is Prince Henry's speech in excuse for taking away the crown while his father slept—

'Most soveraigne lord, and welbeloved father,
'I came into your chamber to comfort the melancholy
'Soule of your body, and finding you at that time
'Past all recovery and dead, to my thinking,
'God is my witnesse, and what should I doo
'But with weeping teares lament the death of you, my father;
'And after that, seeing the crown, I took it.
'And tell me, father, who might better take it then I,
'After your death? but seeing you live,
'I most humbly render it into your majesties hands,

* Gascoigne's *Supposes*, translated from Ariosto, we have seen was in prose; but that was only a comedy, and it was acted, not at a public theatre, but before the Society of Gray's Inn.

'And the happiest man alive that my father live:
'And live, my lord and father, for ever.'

The excuse is the same in Shakespeare (Henry IV. Pt. ii., A. iv., Sc. 4.), but it is not necessary to show here how differently it is urged and enforced. Among minor resemblances, which prove that Shakespeare had the old *Henry the Fifth* before him, when he wrote his play upon the events of that reign, may be noticed the refusal of the French King to allow his son, the Dauphin, to endanger his person with the English *. Little as Shakespeare, in the serious part of his composition, has derived from the older historical play, his obligations are still lighter with reference to the comic portions. After Prince Henry has struck the Chief Justice and has been liberated from prison, in the old *Henry the Fifth* he has a conversation with Sir John Oldcastle, Ned and Tom, his companions in his robberies at Gads-hill. Sir John Oldcastle, speaking of Henry IV., says, 'He is a good old man: God take him to his mercy;' and the Prince, addressing Ned, observes, 'So soon as I am King, the first thing I 'will do shall be to put my Lord Chief Justice out of 'office, and thou shalt be my Lord Chief Justice of 'England.' The reply of Ned resembles, even verbally, that of Falstaff when the Prince of Wales tells him (Henry IV. Pt. i., A. i., Sc. 2.) that when he is King he shall have the hanging of the thieves. Ned says, in the older play—

* Henry V. Act iii. Sc. 6, and *Six Old Plays*, ii. 357.

'Shall I be Lord Chief Justice?
'By Gog's wounds, I'll be the bravest Lord Chief Justice
'That ever was in England.'—

The character of Derrick, the clown, runs through the whole piece, and that Tarleton was able to make anything out of such unpromising materials affords strong evidence of the original resources of that extraordinary performer.

The troublesome Reign of John, King of England, is in two parts, and bears the marks of more than one hand in its composition: the first part, and especially the earlier portion of it, is full of rhymes, while in the second part they comparatively seldom occur, which may be said to establish that the one was written nearer the date when rhyme was first discarded. The blank-verse of the second part is also a decided improvement upon that of the first part: it is less cumbrous and more varied, though still monotonous in its cadences. Malone, upon conjecture only, attributed the old *King John* to Greene or Peele*, and some passages in the second part would do credit to

* In a note on Act v. Sc. 7 of *King John*, Malone cites a corresponding passage from *Lust's Dominion*, and if his reasoning were founded on fact, we might infer that Marlow, as well as Greene and Peele, was concerned in the production of the old King John. The truth, however, is that Marlow had nothing to do with the authorship of *Lust's Dominion*, although it has been invariably assigned to him, until in the last edition of Dodsley's Old Plays it was irrefragably proved, that Marlow had been dead five years before some of the historical events in *Lust's Dominion* occurred. *Vide* Dodsley's Old Plays, ii. 311. 1825.

either. In the opening of it is a beautiful simile, which Shakespeare might have used had he not been furnished, on the same occasion, with another from the abundant store of his own fancy: that which he employs has, perhaps, more novelty, but assuredly less grace, and both are equally appropriate. Arthur has thrown himself from the tower, and is found dead: Shakespeare calls his body

'An empty casket, where the jewel of life
'By some damn'd hand was robb'd and ta'en away.'

The author of the second part of the old *King John* describes the dead body as a

——————'withered flower,
'Who in his life shin'd like the morning's blush,
'Cast out of door.'

Shakespeare may be said to have borrowed nothing from this piece beyond an unimportant historical blunder, pointed out by Steevens: as to his having 'preserved the greatest part of the conduct' of the elder production, both writers very much followed the chroniclers of the time. Our great dramatist has however displayed, as usual, his superior skill in framing the plot, and, with a single omission, he has brought into the compass of his one play the incidents that are tediously extended through the two parts of the old *King John*. That omission is the plunder of the abbey of Swinstead by Falconbridge, when he finds a nun concealed in the apartment of the Abbot, and a friar hidden in that of the Abbess.

The characters in both performances are nearly the

same; but while, in the old play, they are comparatively only instruments of utterance, Shakespeare breathes a spirit of life into his historical personages, and they live again in his lines. Shakespeare may be criticised for a century, but after all we shall only arrive at this point—that we admire him above all others, because he is, more than all others, the poet of actual existence.

The story of Lear and his Daughters is full of moral impossibilities, and Shakespeare's play, founded upon it, is the triumph of sympathy over improbability. Our feelings are deeply interested from the first scene to the last; yet the events, out of which those scenes arise, could scarcely have occurred in any state of society. The old '*Chronicle History of King Leir*,' as it is called on the title-page, was most likely published in 1594, when it was entered for that purpose on the Stationers' books*; while it is probable that Shakespeare's tragedy, on the same subject, was not produced until 1605. He seems to have introduced more variance than usual in his conduct of the plot, and especially to have changed the conclusion, which, in the old play, is managed with great simplicity, and with the observance of that poetical justice which Shakespeare has been blamed by some for disregarding. In the 'Chronicle History,' Lear is restored to his throne, after the defeat and exile of his two wicked daughters, while Cordella (so she is there

* It was played by Henslowe's company, as we find by his Diary, on the 6th April, 1593.

named) and her husband, the King of France, after reposing awhile with the old King, return to their own dominions. Shakespeare has given a new interest to his performance, by the episode of Glocester and his two sons, which contributes to enforce the same moral lesson. The faithful Fool is likewise new to him; and it need not be stated how much that character adds to the effect of the awful scenes in which he is introduced. The madness of Lear is not to be traced in the old play; and I am satisfied, from the language of the ballad*, that it was founded upon Shakespeare's tragedy, and not, as some have supposed, Shakespeare's tragedy upon it. The hint of the part of Kent is undoubtedly taken from the Perillus of the 'Chronicle History;' but the latter is a poor, spiritless lamenter over the injuries of Cordella, in the earlier scenes, and in the progress of the play, instead of contrasting with Lear, he not only partakes the sufferings, but shares the imbecilities of the old abdicated monarch. In the 'Chronicle History,' one of the daughters sends a messenger, to murder her father and Perillus in a wood; and the most affecting scene in the piece is that in which the two old men so plead for their lives, that the assassin is unable to perform the duty he had undertaken. In the 'Chronicle History,' the two wicked daughters are not married, until their husbands have been bribed by the offer of the division of the kingdom, and the union of Cor-

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, x. 297.

della with the King of France is most absurdly conducted. The King of France, with one of his nobles, visits England as a pilgrim, and meeting Cordella, driven from her father's court, they fall in love with each other on the spot, he not knowing that she is a Princess, nor she that he is a King. Old Lear puts on the dress of a shipman, when he flies to France from Ragan and Gonorill, and there is accidentally met by Cordella and her royal spouse, who are making a journey to the sea-side in disguise.

Nothing can be more tame and mechanical than the whole of the dialogue of the 'Chronicle History,' which Malone, with great injustice, conjectures to have been written by Thomas Kyd.

The last of the six old plays is that to which Shakespeare was most indebted: all the principal situations, and part of the language of his *Taming of the Shrew* are to be found in the 'pleasant conceited History called the Taming of a Shrew,' a work of very considerable talent, as evinced by the conduct of the plot, the nature of the characters, and the versification of the dialogue. It was printed in 1594; and I shall give the title of this edition at length, because it was unknown to Malone, Steevens, and the rest of the modern commentators*: — 'A pleasant conceited

* Pope seems to have had a copy of the edition of 1594, but afterwards it was lost sight of for about a century, and has only very recently been recovered. It was entered on the Stationers' books on 2d May, 1594, and, no doubt, appeared soon afterwards. Steevens reprinted from a copy dated 1607, having seen no earlier edition.

'Historie called The taming of a Shrew. As it was 'sundry times acted by the Right honourable the Earle 'of Pembrooke his servants. Printed at London by 'Peter Short, and are to be sold by Cuthbert Bur-'bie, at his shop at the Royall Exchange. 1594.' Although it is not enumerated by Meres, in 1598, among the plays Shakespeare had then written, and although in Act iv. Scene 1, it contains an allusion to Heywood's *Woman killed with Kindness*, which was not produced until after 1600, Malone finally fixed upon 1596 as the date when the *Taming of the Shrew* was produced. His earlier conjecture of 1606 seems much more probable, and his only reason for changing his mind was that the versification resembled 'the old comedies antecedent to the time' of Shakespeare, and in this notion he was certainly well-founded. I am however satisfied, that more than one hand (perhaps at distant dates) was concerned in it, and that Shakespeare had little to do with any of the scenes in which Katherine and Petruchio are not engaged. The underplot much resembles the dramatic style of William Haughton, author of an extant comedy, called *Englishmen for my Money*, which was produced prior to 1598.

Hurd gives Shakespeare great praise for 'the excellence of the moral design' of the Induction to his *Taming of the Shrew*, not being aware that the credit due on this account belongs to the author of the original comedy of 1594*. Shakespeare has, indeed, made

* Unless Warton be correct in his statement (Hist. Engl. Poet,. iv.

very material changes, both of persons and dialogue; but the lesson enforced by the one and by the other is the same. As the copy of the old *Taming of a Shrew* of 1594 is a great curiosity *, and as very little attention has been hitherto paid to the Induction, as it stands in the original of Shakespeare's comedy, I shall quote from it *literatim* at greater length than usual, in order to show the nature and degree of our great dramatist's obligation.

Enter a Tapster, beating out of his doores Slie droonken.

'*Tapster.* You whorson droonken slave, you had best be gone,
'And empty your droonken panch somwhere else,
'For in this house thou shalt not rest to night.
[*Exit Tapster.*
'*Slie.* Tilly vally, by crisee Tapster Ile fese you anon,
'Fil's the tother pot, and alls paid for, looke you.
'I doo drinke it of mine owne Instigation: *Omne bene.*
'Heere Ile lie a while. Why, Tapster, I say,
'Fil's a fresh cushen heere,
'Heigh ho, heer's good warme lying. [*He fals asleepe.*

Enter a Nobleman and his men from hunting.

'*Lord.* Now that the gloomie shaddow of the night,
'Longing to view Orion's drisling lookes,
'Leapes from th' antarticke world unto the skie

118,) that it was derived from a collection of Tales by Richard Edwards (author of *Damon and Pythias*, &c.) printed in 1570, which was among the books of Collins at Chichester. No such collection is now known to be in existence.

* It was bought by that very intelligent bookseller, Mr. T. Rodd, of Newport-street, out of the Catalogue of Longman and Co. for the year 1817; and it was subsequently sold by auction for 20*l*. It occupies forty-six quarto pages besides the title.

'And dims the welkin with her pitchie breath,
'And darkesome night oreshades the christall heavens,
'Heere breake we off our hunting for to night.
'Cupple uppe the hounds, let us hie us home,
'And bid the huntsman see them meated well,
'For they have all deserv'd it well to daie.
'But soft, what sleepie fellow is this lies heere?
'Or is he dead, see one what he dooth lacke?
'*Servingman.* My Lord, tis nothing but a drunken sleepe.
'His head is too heavie for his bodie,
'And he hath drunke so much that he can go no furder.
'*Lord.* Fie, how the slavish villaine stinkes of drinke.
'Ho, sirha, arise! What! so sound asleepe?
'Go take him uppe, and beare him to my house,
'And beare him easilie for feare he wake,
'And in my fairest chamber make a fire,
'And set a sumptuous banquet on the boord,
'And put my richest garmentes on his backe,
'Then set him at the table in a chaire.
'When that is doone, against he shall awake,
'Let heavenlie musicke play about him still.
'Go two of you awaie, and beare him hence,
'And then Ile tell you what I have devised,
'But see in any case you wake him not.
[*Exeunt two with Slie.*
'Now take my cloake, and give me one of yours.
'Al fellowes now, and see you take me so,
'For we will waite upon this droonken man,
'To see his countnance when he dooth awake,
'And finde himselfe clothed in such attire.
'With heavenly musicke sounding in his eares,
'And such a banquet set before his eies,
'The fellow sure will thinke he is in heaven:
'But we will [be] about him when he wakes;
'And see you call him Lord at everie word,

'And offer thou him his horse to ride abroad,
'And thou his hawkes, and houndes to hunt the deere,
'And I will aske what sutes he meanes to weare,
'And what so ere he saith, see you doo not laugh,
'But still perswade him that he is a Lord.

Enter one.

'*Mess.* And it please your honour, your plaiers be com,
'And doo attend your honour's pleasure here.
'*Lord.* The fittest time they could have chosen out.
'Bid one or two of them come hither straight;
'Now will I fit my selfe accordinglie,
'For they shall play to him when he awakes.

Enter two of the players with packs at their backs, and a boy.

'Now, sirs, what store of plaies have you?
'*San.*[*der*] Marrie, my lord, you maie have a Tragicall,
'Or a commoditie, or what you will.
'*The other.* A Comedie thou shouldst say: souns, thout shame us all.
'*Lord.* And what's the name of your Comedie?
'*San.* Marrie, my lord, 'tis calde The taming of a shrew.
''Tis a good lesson for us, my lord, for us y^t^ are married men.
'*Lord.* The taming of a shrew, that's excellent sure.
'Go see that you make you readie straight,
'For you must play before a lord to-night.
'Say you are his men and I your fellow,
'Hee's something foolish, but what so ere he saies,
'See that you be not dasht out of countenance.'

The reprint made by Steevens, in 1779, from the edition of the old *Taming of a Shrew*, (mentioned by Sir J. Harington in 1596 *,) will enable the reader to

* In his *Metamorphosis of Ajax* printed in that year.

judge how far Shakespeare, and, as I suppose, his coadjutor, were aided by the previous drama; and as the resemblance runs through the whole performance, it is not necessary to point out particular instances. Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* is deficient in the conclusion, for we there hear nothing of Sly after the play is ended. In the old piece of 1594, he is again borne to the door of the ale-house, and there left asleep: it is related in the following manner.

'*Then enter two bearing of Slie in his owne apparell, and leaves him where they found him, and then goes out: then enter the Tapster.*

'*Tapster.* Now that the darkesome night is overpast,
'And dawning day appeares in cristall skie,
'Now must I haste abroade: but soft, who's this?
'What, Slie, O wondrous! hath he laine heere all night?
'I'le wake him: I thinke hee's starved by this,
'But that his belly was so stufft with ale.
'What now, Slie, awake for shame!

'*Slie.* Sim, gives some more wine: what all the
'Players gone: am not I a Lord?

'*Tapster.* A Lord, with a murrin: come, art thou drunken still?

'*Slie.* Who's this? Tapster, O Lord sirha, I have had 'the bravest dreame to-night, that ever thou heardest in all 'thy life.

'*Tapster.* I, mary, but you had best get you home,
'For your wife will course you for dreaming heere to-night.

'*Slie.* Wil she? I know now how to tame a shrew;
'I dreamt upon it all this night till now,
'And thou hast wakt me out of the best dreame
'That ever I had in all my life: but I'le to my
'Wife presently, and tame her too, and if she anger me.

'*Tapster.* Nay, tarry, Slie, for Ile go home with thee,
'And heare the rest that thou hast dreamt to-night.
'[*Exeunt omnes.*'

The variations between the copies of 1594 and 1607 are not material, the latter being a reprint from the former; unless, as Reed asserts, there was an intermediate edition in 1596*. One circumstance has not been remarked by the commentators, viz., that the scene of the old *Taming of a Shrew* is laid in Athens, and that the names of the characters are a mixture of Greek, Latin, Italian, English, and Scotch. Shakespeare transferred it to Padua, and altered the *dramatis personæ*, observing in this particular, and some others, more dramatic propriety.

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 341.

THE IMMEDIATE

PREDECESSORS OF SHAKESPEARE.

INTRODUCTION.

ANTERIOR to the year 1593, when it has been assumed that Shakespeare first began to attract notice as a dramatic poet, we have seen that the following five theatres were certainly open:—the Blackfriars, the Whitefriars, the Rose on the Bankside, a playhouse at Newington Butts, and Paris Garden, where plays were occasionally performed. Besides these, it is probable that the Hope was also in use at this period, and the school-room at St. Paul's had been early applied to the purpose of acting plays: the employment of inn-yards also, as temporary places of exhibition, had not been entirely discontinued. It is not possible, perhaps, to arrive at anything like a correct notion with regard to the number of companies at any one time playing in London and its vicinity: the writer of a letter to Secretary Walsingham, quoted under the date of 1586 in the 'Annals of the Stage,' mentions the players of the Queen, of Lord Leicester, of Lord Oxford, Lord Nottingham, 'and divers others,' then performing; and in the whole he states that there were

not less than two hundred players in and near the metropolis. Allowing for puritanical exaggeration on the part of the writer, and supposing the number to be only about one hundred, each company at that date could scarcely exceed ten or twelve persons, and this calculation would give about ten companies performing in London and its vicinity in 1586.

Philip Henslowe's manuscript Diary commences about five years afterwards, and two years before Shakespeare became an author of 'mark and likelihood.' His business, judging from his own accounts, seems originally to have been that of a sort of pawnbroker, who advanced money upon various kinds of property, but especially upon wearing apparel. The players often pledged their dresses with him, and afterwards hired them when they were wanted: this probably was the commencement of Henslowe's connection with plays and theatres. Various companies in this manner might become his debtors, and he ultimately possessed a large share of the wardrobe and properties of the playhouses with which he was concerned. In 1591, he either extensively repaired or built the Rose on the Bankside; and on the 19th of February, in that year, he began to register his proportion of the receipts. The house was then in the occupation of Lord Strange's players. On the 27th of December, 1593, he was connected in the same way with Lord Sussex's players, who, in April following, joined the Queen's players; but the union appears to have been of very short duration, and after April, 1593, Hen-

slowe's concern with Lord Strange's, Lord Sussex's, and the Queen's players seems to have ceased entirely. His interest in the receipts by the Earl of Nottingham's (Lord Admiral) players must have commenced in May, 1594; and we do not find that he was engaged at all permanently with any other association of actors until James I. had been for some time on the throne. In his Diary or account-book (still preserved in Dulwich College), he has merely written the name of the play, and the amount of the 'takings' at the doors he was entitled to receive from February, 1591, to December, 1597; and we can only ascertain the poets who contributed their productions in that interval, by such of their works as have been printed and have come down to us, or regarding which there exists any extraneous intelligence.

It is probable that prior to the year 1592, or 1593, the copy-right of plays was little understood and less recognised; and that various companies were performing the same dramas at the same time, although perhaps they had been bought by one company for its sole use. The only security against invasions of the kind seems to have been the non-publication of plays, which will account for the few that have reached us, compared with the vast number known to have been written: it will account also for the imperfect state of many of them, especially of those of the earliest dates. A popular play, written for one company, and perhaps acted by that company as it was written, might be surreptitiously obtained by another, having been at

best taken down from the mouths of the original performers: from the second company it might be procured by a third, and after a succession of changes, corruptions, and omissions, it might find its way at last to the press. I take it for granted, therefore, that such favourite authors as Robert Greene, Christopher Marlow, Thomas Lodge, George Peele, Thomas Kyd, and some few others, furnished dramatic entertainments not for one company only, but for most of the associations of actors in the metropolis prior to 1593; and when we find early in Henslowe's Diary an entry of *Tamburlaine*, played by Lord Strange's actors, we may conclude that it was exhibited also by the Queen's, Lord Nottingham's, Lord Oxford's, or any other company that could contrive to get up something like the original performance. The extremely popular play by Christopher Marlow, just named, is an instance exactly in point. On the title-page of the printed copy in 1590, we are told that it was played by the servants of the Lord Admiral, yet Henslowe five times mentions its performance by the servants of Lord Strange prior to April, 1592.

At a subsequent date, the case seems to have been different, and after December, 1597, when Henslowe began to insert the names of authors, as well as the titles of plays, we find few notices of pieces which appear distinctly to have been employed by other companies than that acting under the name of the Lord Admiral. This circumstance enables us to judge, in

some degree, how many plays were written for and produced by a single company from 1597 to 1603. As we know, that besides the Lord Chamberlain's servants, of whom Shakespeare was one, there were various other bodies of performers, who, perhaps, brought out plays with equal rapidity, a notion may be formed of the vast number of dramatic productions that have been lost. It is capable of proof, that some of the more popular poets in the pay of Henslowe, and whose names are frequently registered by him in his Diary, were also engaged by other companies to write plays for them. Regarding those other companies we have no information beyond that which is furnished by a comparatively few printed productions; and if the chief manager of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres kept an account book at all similar to that of Henslowe, it will be apparent, from the Diary of the latter, of what a source of information we are deprived by its loss. Henslowe's MS. is by far the most curious existing record connected with the stage.

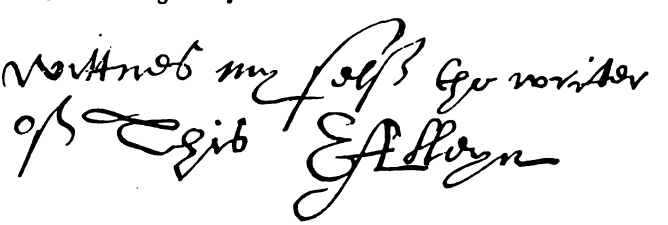
It was in the hands of Malone for several years, and he made numerous quotations from it, which are printed as 'Additions' to his 'History of the Stage.' It is fortunate that he thus put them in a permanent shape, for not a few are now missing in the original: it is obvious that in its passage from hand to hand, while in Malone's charge, it underwent melancholy mutilations, and the autographs of many of the old dramatic poets with whom Henslowe was connected,

and other interesting parts of the volume, have been cut away*. I am happy to add, however, that the Master and Wardens of Dulwich College are now fully sensible of the worth of this authentic relic, and that it is not likely to be deprived hereafter of such information as it yet contains.

I have several times carefully gone over the whole of the remnant of this singular record, and I am thus enabled to state, that in the quotations Malone fur-

* The MS. itself affords abundant evidence of this nefarious conduct, by whomever it may have been committed. Not very long since I bought at an auction a volume of old plays, in the centre of which, and used as an index to keep a place, I found what I have no doubt once formed part of Henslowe's Diary. It is an original entry by Edward Alleyn, the husband of the step-daughter of Henslowe, of the engagement of a performer (probably an inferior hireling who never reached eminence, as we hear of him no where else) of the name of William Kendall, at ten shillings a-week in London and five shillings a-week in the country. It runs precisely as follows:—

'Md y^t this 8th of December, 1597, my father, philyp hinshlow, 'hiered as A Covenaunt servant willyam Kendall for ij years after The 'statute of winchester with ij single penc A[nd] to geve hym for his 'sayd servis everi week of his playing in london xs and in y^e Cuntrie 'vs: for the w^ch he covenaunts for the space of those ij years To be 'redye att all Tymes to play in the howse of the sayd philyp and in 'no other during the sayd Terme.



nished from it, he committed various errors and omissions, some of which have been pointed out in preceding parts of this work. It is not my intention to insert here the information thus supplied relative to our old drama and dramatists, as such a course would occasion useless repetition of what has already been noticed; but I shall take this opportunity of correcting some prominent mistakes, and of adding points that escaped Malone's observation. I shall advert to them with reference to the different authors to which the entries in Henslowe's Diary apply.

Henry Chettle was concerned in writing *The Famous Wars of Henry the First and the Prince of Wales*, as well as Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker, to whom Malone assigns it. This fact appears by an entry of money received by Chettle, on account of his joint authorship, which is subscribed



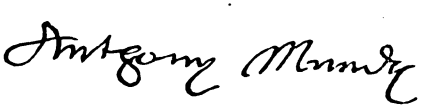
The ascertained date is March, 1598; and by a different item it appears, that when the play was read before the company, 'at the Sun in New Fish-street,' Henslowe lent them five shillings to be spent in refreshments. It was not an unusual practice to treat the actors on such occasions, and in one instance Henslowe put down no less than thirty shillings towards the reckoning. *The Famous Wars of Henry the First* was doubtless a different play to *Harey the firste, Life and*

Death, entered as performed on the 26th of May, 1597, which Malone misread as *Harry the fifthe*, and, as has been before remarked, was puzzled by his own misreading *. Malone omitted all notice of Chettle's *Woman's Tragedy*, under date of June, 1598, and for which five shillings were paid to a painter 'for a picture,' perhaps some portrait introduced into it. *Troy's Revenge*, by Chettle, Malone calls *Æneas' Revenge*, and couples it with *The Tragedy of Polypheme*, with which it had no connection. The payment of twenty shillings to Chettle for *Polefemos* is separately entered. He also joined with Henry Porter, in an historical play, called *The Spencers*, in March, 1598; but Malone deprives Chettle of his share. When Malone tells us that 'the second part of *Thomas Strowde*' was most likely the second part of *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, by John Day and Chettle, he is probably wrong, as there is a distinct entry by Henslowe of 'the second part of *The Blind Beggar*.' Chettle was concerned, in August, 1601, in 'mending' the play of *Friar Rush, or the Proud Woman of Antwerp*, and received ten shillings for his improvements. The *Jane Shore*, assigned to Chettle and Day in January, 1601-2, was only a revival of an older play, as Henslowe then gave forty shillings to those poets, in order that 'the booke of Shoare' might be 'now newly written for the Earl of Worcester's players.' It appears by an entry of £3, to buy 'a coat and other things' for Will Sommers, that Thomas Downton, or Dowton, was the actor

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 307.

of the fool in 'the second part of *Cardinal Wolsey*,' by Chettle. In September, 1602, Chettle was engaged upon a play, called *Mortimer*, which Malone does not mention.

Chettle was not the sole author concerned in the historical play of *Cardinal Wolsey*, under date of 12th August, 1601, although Malone gives it to him alone: he had three coadjutors, viz., Anthony Munday, Michael Drayton, and Wentworth Smith. At this time Munday must have been a poet of considerable experience, and in 1598 he had been called by Francis Meres the 'best plotter:' he perhaps was skilful in sketching out the course and progress of the scenes, which were afterwards undertaken by different dramatists. That he was concerned in *Cardinal Wolsey*, we have under his own hand, as he signs, as follows, a receipt for money on account of it:



Malone, without hesitation, gives to Munday the play called by Henslowe *The Widow's Charm*, which he supposed to be *The Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street*, under a different title: the only entry regarding it runs thus, which, in fact, merely ascertains the Christian name of the writer:—'Unto Antony, the 'poyete [poet] in earnest of a comody called the 'Widowes Charme, 10*s*.' Antony Wadeson was also a writer for Henslowe's company, and he may have been the person here intended.

In a former part of this work, on the authority of Thomas Lodge in his *Defence of Plays*, (if we may so call his title-less production in vindication of dramatic amusements,) it has been stated that Robert Wilson, as early as 1580, was author of a dramatic performance on the subject of the life of Catiline. A history, named by Henslowe *Catalin's Conspiracie*, is entered by him with the date of August, 1598, and it is there attributed to Wilson and Chettle. The probability is, that at this time, Wilson (who must have been senior to his coadjutor) and Chettle had employed themselves in reviving a play, then nearly twenty years old.

The earliest item in Henslowe's Diary, which contains the distinguished name of Michael Drayton, is dated December, 1597, in connection with a piece called *Mother Redcap*, upon which he and Anthony Munday were employed. The following is an exact copy of another item, entirely in the hand-writing of Drayton, relating to 'the play of William Longsword.'

'I received forty shillings of Mr. Phillip Hinslowe 'in part of 3[l] for the playe of Willm. Longsword, 'to be deliv[d] psent w[th] 2 or three dayes: the xx[th] of 'feverary 1598.

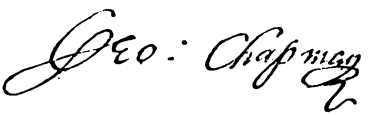


According to Malone, the earliest notice by Henslowe of this production is dated six months afterwards.

In the 'Annals of the Stage,' under the date of 1597, are quoted several novel particulars regarding Thomas Nash's comedy of the *Isle of Dogs*, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison, and Henslowe's company restrained from performing. In January, 1597, the Diary contains a notice of a production with the title of *Dido and Æneas*, without any information as to its author or authors. It was most likely a revival, under the superintendence of Nash, and with his alterations, of the tragedy of *Dido Queen of Carthage*, which he wrote in conjunction with Marlow anterior to 1593, and which was published in 1594. Henslowe's Diary supplies the very day of its performance as represented by his company:—'Lent 'unto the company when they fyrst playde Dido, at 'nyght, the some of 30*s*., which wasse the 8 of Jene-'wary 1597.'—The meaning is, not that *Dido* was played at night, but that at night after its performance, on its revival in 1597, he lent the company 30*s*., which most likely was spent on a supper at a tavern. On the 3d January we find the following entry regarding preparations for the performance:—'Layd 'owt for copper lace for the littel boye, and for a vale 'for the boye ageanste the play of *Dido and Eneis*.'

George Chapman was the author of a piece which Henslowe terms 'a Pastoral Tragedy,' under date of July, 1599, and of which Malone takes no notice. Two other novel facts regarding this excellent old poet of some importance are also to be gathered from

the old Manager's accounts; viz., that his comedy of *All Fools* (printed in 1605) was written prior to July, 1599, and that either one or both of his plays of *Byron's Conspiracy* and *Byron's Tragedy* (first published in 1608) were in being in 1602. The first is mentioned in an entry of much particularity, which runs thus. 'Lent unto Thomas Dowton [or Downton], the 2 of 'July, 1599, to paye Mr. Chapman in full payment 'for his booke called *The World Ronnes on Wheeles*, 'and not *All Fooles*, but *The Foole*, 30s.' *The Fool* is a piece not hitherto included in any list of Chapman's dramatic works; and *All Fools* would not have been mentioned as distinguished from it, if it had not then been known: Chapman must have made some additions, in 1599, to his *World runs on Wheels*, for it appears that it was first acted a year and a half before, viz., in January, 1597. *Byron's Conspiracy*, or *Tragedy*, is designated by Henslowe as *Byron*, and sometimes as *Burone* and *Birowme*, in November, 1602. Chapman signed his receipts of money in the following manner.



No particulars of Henry Porter are known beyond those which Henslowe furnishes: he was probably not an actor, as his name does not occur in any list of performers. Among other pieces he wrote two parts of *The two angry Women of Abingdon*, for although

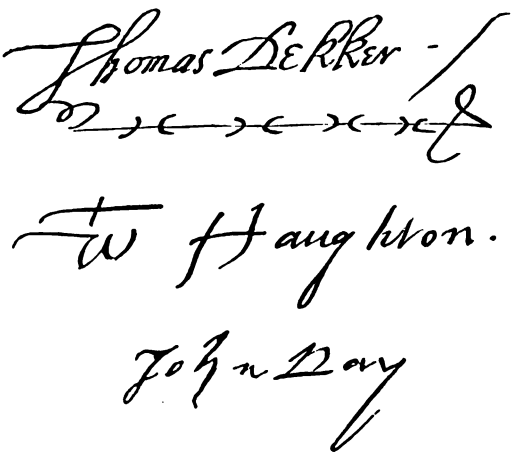
Henslowe only speaks of the second part, what appears to have been the first part was twice printed in 1599, both editions (for they are distinct impressions) being in the British Museum. He followed them, in February, 1598, by *The two Merry Women of Abingdon*, which was perhaps designed by the author as a third part of the same subject; and having made them 'angry' in the two first parts, he reconciled them in the last. Malone misdates, as of 1590, an engagement by Porter to let Henslowe have all his productions: the correct date is February 8th, 1599. In April, 1599, Porter forfeited to Henslowe a bond in 10*l.* penalty, that he would repay 25*s.* which he owed him on a certain day. Porter was, therefore, in all probability as poor as most of the fraternity of playwrights.

Thomas Dekker, in partnership with William Haughton and John Day, was author of *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, which Malone, by a strange error, calls *The Spanish Morris*, but he gives the right date, January, 1599-1600. The mistake was more important than it may appear at first sight, as *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* was most likely the production called *Lust's Dominion*, not printed until 1657, and falsely attributed to Marlow. A Spanish Moor is the hero of it, and the date in Henslowe, of January, 1599-1600, corresponds with that of a tract upon which some of the scenes are even verbally founded*. That Marlow,

* See *Dodsley's Old Plays*, ii. 311, last edition.

who was killed in 1593, and could not, therefore, be the author of it, requires no farther proof.

The following are fac-similes of the signatures of Dekker and of his two coadjutors.



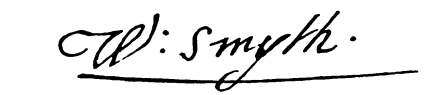
Malone gives to H. Chettle a scriptural play on the subject of *Jeptha;* but it is very clear, from Henslowe's book, that it was partly written by Dekker, who received 5*l.* for it. Dekker was likewise the author of *The first Introduction of the Civil Wars in France,* which seems to have been intended to precede three other plays, in which he was assisted by Drayton, relative to the civil wars in France. Malone notices the three last, but not the introductory piece by Dekker, in which, according to Henslowe, he had no coadjutor.

We may conclude with tolerable safety, that this author's *Medicine for a Curst Wife,* with the date of August, 1602, was a revival of the old *Taming of*

a Shrew, which had belonged to Lord Pembroke's players, and to which Shakespeare had been indebted. It never seems to have struck Malone, that the endeavour to ascertain the period when some of Shakespeare's plays were brought out might be aided by the dates, when other poets produced revivals of the old subjects to which our great dramatist also resorted. This and other circumstances tend to show that Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* was acted about 1602.

In the years 1593 and 1594, Henslowe was in connection with the Lord Chamberlain's players, of whom Shakespeare was one, but his name does not occur from the beginning to the end of the Diary. One observation, however, founded upon it ought to be made with reference to the productions of our great dramatist,—that Henslowe enters within the years 1593 and 1594 at least six of the old plays of which Shakespeare is supposed, more or less, to have availed himself, viz., *Titus Andronicus, King Lear, Hamlet, Taming of a Shrew, Cæsar,* and *Henry the Fifth.* If Shakespeare had been a writer of any considerable celebrity even in 1594, it is singular that we should find no trace of him in Henslowe's papers. It supports the inference that he did not obtain distinction until after the Lord Chamberlain's players separated from those acting under the name of the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral. I may take this opportunity of inserting a fac-simile of the signature of Wentworth Smith, whose initials correspond with those of Shakespeare, and who is

supposed to have been the real author of more than one piece attributed to him.



His name first occurs in Henslowe's Diary as an author in December, 1599, when, in partnership with John Day, he wrote '*The Italian Tragedy of* ——,' so entered by the old manager, because he did not know the rest of the title, and which Malone calls merely *The Italian Tragedy*. He had also a hand in *The Six Yeomen of the West*, his coadjutors being William Haughton, John Day and Richard Hathwaye, the last an important name, when we recollect that Shakespeare married Ann Hathwaye, although I am not aware that any attempt has been made, or could be made with success, to connect Richard and Ann Hathwaye by ties of relationship. Malone deprived Hathwaye of his share in *The Six Yeomen of the West*, which is elsewhere called by Henslowe *The Six Clothiers of the West*, although Malone erroneously represents them as distinct performances: Hathwaye signs entries in Henslowe's Diary, in which he is concerned, in the following manner:—



The Six Yeomen of the West was doubtless founded upon T. Deloney's tract entitled 'Thomas of Read-

ing, or the six worthy Yeomen of the West *.' I believe no earlier edition is now known of it than that of 1612, although it is mentioned by William Kemp, the actor, in his *Nine Days Wonder*, 1600, where he gives an account of a Morris which he danced from London to Norwich.

* I have recently recovered a curious little volume by Thomas Deloney, consisting of a collection of ballads and poems under the title of 'Strange Histories; or Songes and Sonets of Kings, Princes, Dukes, 'Lordes, Ladyes, Knights, and Gentlemen. Very pleasant either to 'be read or songe, and a most excellent warning for all estates. Im-'printed at London for W. Barley, &c., 1607, 12mo.' Ritson notices an edition in 1612 which he had not seen, and which was the only copy known. It may be worth while to add a list of the ballads it contains, with their tunes, some of which are remarkable, especially that of 'Come live with me and be my love,' which shows how common that poem, imputed to Shakespeare or Marlow, was at the time. 1. The Kentish-men with long-tails, to the tune of 'Rogero;' 2. Salomon's Good Housewife, to no tune; 3. The drowning of the Children of Henry the First, to the tune of 'the Lady's Daughter;' 4. The Dutchess of Suffolk's Calamity, to the tune of 'Queen Dido;' 5. Henry II. crowning his son King, to the tune of 'Wigmore's Galliard;' 6. The imprisonment of Queen Elinor, to the tune of 'Come live with me and be my love;' 7. The Death of King John, to the tune of 'Fortune;' 8. The Imprisonment of Edward II., to the tune of 'Who list to lead a Soldier's life;' 9. The murdering of Edward II., to the tune of 'How can the tree' [possibly this tune is the song in *Sir Clyomon and Clamydes*, before quoted]; 10. The banishment of Lord Matravers and Sir Thomas Gurney, to the tune of 'Light of Love;' 11. The winning of the Isle of Man, to the tune of 'the King's going to the Par' [liament]; 12. The rebellion of Wat Tyler, to the tune of 'The Miller would a wooing ride;' 13. Fair Rosamond, to the tune of 'Flying fame.' It seems originally to have been intended that the volume should end with 'a speech between certaine Ladyes, being

In the dedication to his *Devil's Law Case*, John Webster claims to have been the author of a play, which he calls *The Guise* *, not now known, but plausibly supposed to have related to the slaughter of St. Bartholomew, on which Marlow had written a tragedy with the title of the *Massacre at Paris*. In Henslowe's Diary is the following item, 'Lent unto 'W^m. Jube the 3 Nov., 1601, to bye stamell cloath for 'a cloek, for the Gwise 3*l*.,' and the name of Webster was interlined in different ink. It however sufficiently connects Webster with the performance, which we may conjecture was a new version of Marlow's tragedy, as in another place Webster's *Guise* is actually called *The Masaker of France*, a title which

shepheards on Salisburie plaine,' but some minor poems, with the initials T. R. and A. C., are added, besides others, that have no signatures: among the latter is 'a new Dittie in Prayse of Money, to a new tune called the King's Jigge,' followed by some epigrams. The whole is closed by sentences 'set upon conduits in London against the 'day that King James came through the Citie at his first comming to 'the Crowne.' The following are among them—

'Life is a drop, a sparke, a span,
'A bubble: yet how proude is man.

'Life is a debt, which at that day,
'The poorest hath enough to pay.

'This world's a stage, whereon to-day,
'Kings and meane men parts do play;
'To-morrow others take their roomes,
'While they do fill up graves and toomes.'

Dr. Percy (Reliques, ii., 160, edit. 1812) informs us that 'Fair Rosamond' was first printed by Deloney, in 1612; but the preceding list of ballads shows that this statement is mistaken.

* See *Webster's Works*, by the Rev. A. Dyce, I. xiv.

no doubt it also bore. The name of Thomas Middleton occurs late in Henslowe's Diary: Malone, under date of October, 1602, mentions *Randall Earl of Chester* by Middleton, which without much probability he supposes to be *The Mayor of Quinborough* under a different title. Middleton also wrote a piece, which Henslowe terms *The Chester Tragedy*, not introduced by Malone into his list; and if that be the same production as *Randall Earl of Chester*, it is still less likely that the comedy of *The Mayor of Quinborough* should be intended.

From the miscellaneous matter in this very remarkable record, I shall only here subjoin an exact copy of an entry of the marriage of Edward Alleyn, the celebrated actor and founder of Dulwich College, with Joan Woodward in October, 1592, which has been often referred to but never quoted correctly.

'Edward Alen wasse maryed unto Jone Wood-
'ward the 22 day of octobr 1592 In the iiij and
'thirtie yeare of the Quene's Ma^ties^ Rayne elizabeth
'by the grace of god of Ingland france and Iarland
'defender of the fayth'—

This is in the hand of Henslowe, step-father to Alleyn's * wife. Henslowe seems to have been no

* *Cutlack* is the name which Henslowe gives to a play in which Alleyn (as in many other parts) seems to have gained considerable reputation. In that rare collection of Epigrams and Satires, printed in 16mo., in 1598, called *Skialetheia, or a Shadowe of Truth*, I find the following lines, which serve to show the nature of the character of Cutlack: the Epigram is headed 'Of Clodius.'

great proficient either in writing or reading, and he often makes sad work of the titles of the plays he mentions in his Diary. Chalmers states that Alleyn's

'Clodius, me thinks, lookes passing big of late,
'With Dunston's browes and Allen's Cutlack's gait.
'What humours have possest him so, I wonder?
'His eyes are lightning and his words are thunder,' &c.

The same collection makes mention of an actor of the name of Gue, who must have been distinguished in the parts of clowns. I cannot refrain from lengthening this note by the following notices by the anonymous author of *Skialetheia*, of the poets of his day and earlier, as I am not aware that they have ever been quoted. They are from the Sixth Satire.

——— 'For in these our times
'Some of opinion's gulls carp at the rimes
'Of reverend *Chawcer*: other some do praise them,
'And unto heav'n with wonder's wings do raise them.
'Some say the mark is out of *Gower's* mouth,
'Others he's better then a trick of youth.
'Some blame deep *Spencer* for his grandam words,
'Others protest that in them he records
'His maister-peece of cunning, giving praise
'And gravity to his profound-prickt layes.
'*Daniel* (as some hold) might mount if he list,
'But others say that he's a Lucanist.
'*Markham* is censur'd for his want of plot,
'Yet others thinke that no deepe stayning blot:
'As *Homer* writ his Frogs'-fray learnedly,
'And Virgil his Gnats' unkind Tragedy,
'So though his plot be poore, his subject's rich,
'And his Muse soares a falcon's gallant pitch.
'*Drayton's* condemn'd of some for imitation,
'But others say 'twas the best poet's fashion,
'In spight of sicke opinion's crooked doome,
'Traytor to kingdome mind, true judgment's toomb,
'Like to a worthy *Romaine* he hath wonne
'A three-fold name affined to the Sunne,
'When he is mounted in the glorious South,
'And Drayton's justly sirnam'd *Golden-mouth*. 'The

wife was 'the daughter of Henslowe *,' but she was in fact the daughter of his wife, who had previously been married to a person of the name of Woodward. Henslowe, nevertheless, constantly terms Alleyn his son, and seems to have left the control of theatrical matters very much to him as the acting manager. Alleyn also now and then negociated with poets for their plays, and it is not at all clear that he was not himself an author. In August, 1602, he received 4*l.* from Henslowe for 'two books,' called *Philip of Spain* and *Longshanks*, which perhaps were revivals with additions; the last, of Peele's play of *Edward I.* called *Longshanks* by Henslowe on its first appearance. In October of the same year, we find a notice of a third production by Alleyn, called *Tamberzan*, perhaps a revival of Marlow's *Tamburlaine*. Henslowe's entry runs thus: 'Paid unto my sonne E.

'The double-volum'd *Satyre* praysed is,
'And lik'd of divers for his rods in pisse;
'Yet other-some, who would his credite crack,
'Have clap'd *Reactioe's* action on his back.
'Nay, even wits Cæsar, Sidney, for whose death
'The fates themselves lamented England's scath,
'And Muses wept, till of their teares did spring
'Admiredly a second *Castal* spring,
'Is not exempt for prophanation,
'But censured for affectation.'

Drayton was called 'golden-mouthed' by C. Fitzgeffrey, in his poem on the death of Sir F. Drake, 1596. The 'double-volumed Satire' was Marston, who entitled one of his satires '*Re-actio*.' The entry by Henslowe, regarding 'the new poet Mr. Marstone,' has been inserted in 'the Annals of the Stage, vol. i. p. 335.'

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 504.

'Alleyn at the apoyntment of the company, for his 'booke of Tamberzan, the 29th Oct. 1602, 40*s*.*' These circumstances are omitted by Malone.

From the whole of the minute and authentic, though confused, details furnished by Henslowe, it appears that between Feb. 19th, 1591, and July 14th, 1597, upwards of one hundred and ten different plays were performed by the companies with which he was in that interval connected: viz., Lord Strange's, the Lord Admiral's, the Lord Chamberlain's, and Lord Pembroke's players. In the period between October, 1597, and March, 1603, the titles of not less than one hundred and sixty pieces are inserted by him, either as original compositions, or as revivals of older plays. Independently of individual testimony (like that of Thomas Heywood, an actor and an author under Henslowe in 1597, who claimed at a subsequent date† to have been concerned, more or less importantly, in no less than two hundred and twenty plays), we have here the most remarkable and unquestionable proof of the prolific talents of our old dramatists. No less than thirty different authors were in Henslowe's pay subsequent to 1597, and not a few of them, as has been already remarked, wrote for other companies

* There was also what I suppose to have been an *extempore* play, called *Tamar Cam*, the 'platform' of which was formerly preserved in Dulwich College: a copy of it is inserted in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 356. This, however, could scarcely be 'the *book* of Tamberzan,' bought by Henslowe of Alleyn.

† In the Address before his *English Traveller*, printed in 1633.

besides those in which he was interested. Their names were:—

Anthony Munday.	Ben Jonson.
Henry Chettle.	Thomas Downton.
Michael Drayton.	Will. Rankins.
George Chapman.	Tho. Heywood.
Thomas Dekker.	Saml. Rowley.
Will. Haughton.	Will. Bird.
Robert Lee.	Edward Juby.
Robert Wilson.	Will. Boyle.
Rich. Hathwaye.	—— Pett.
Martin Slaughter.	—— Hawkins.
Henry Porter.	Antony Wadeson.
John Day.	Wentworth Smith.
John Singer.	Charles Massey.
Thomas Middleton.	John Webster.
—— Robinson.	Robert Shawe.

Of these poets, and poet-players, (for many of them were actors as well as authors,) only two, Munday and Chettle, can be decisively stated to have been predecessors of Shakespeare; but the plays of such as had written for Henslowe, before what may be called the era of our great dramatist, are registered by him without the names of their authors. I shall now proceed to give an account of the extant works of those who, it can be distinctly ascertained, were the precursors of Shakespeare. Two of the most distinguished dramatists, Marlow and Greene, were dead anterior to the date when Shakespeare had acquired any reputation as an original poet.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOW,

AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF BLANK-VERSE UPON THE PUBLIC STAGE.

In the examination of dramatic productions which preceded any of Shakespeare's original works, I have somewhat anticipated an important event in the history of dramatic poetry—the first employment of blank-verse in performances represented on the public stage. We have seen that in *Love and Fortune, Arden of Feversham, A Knack to know a Knave, The Troublesome Reign of King John, The History of King Leir, The Taming of a Shrew,* and some other plays, all written prior to 1592, and all acted at theatres frequented by popular audiences, blank-verse was employed. It will now be necessary to revert back a few years, in order to ascertain the date at which this change took place, (to the speedy and almost entire exclusion of rhyme and prose, which had been previously used,) and by whom it was effected.

Verses of ten syllables without rhyme were first composed in English by Lord Surrey, in his translation of parts of the Æneid, on the title-page of which it is termed a 'strange metre.' The earliest instance of its application to the purposes of the drama, was in the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex,* by Sackville and Norton, acted before the Queen in 1561-2. The

example was followed in 1566 in Gascoyne's *Jocasta*, played at Gray's Inn; and at a still greater interval by Thomas Hughes, in his *Misfortunes of Arthur*, represented before the Queen at Greenwich, in 1587. These, it will be remarked, were plays either performed at Court or before private societies. The question is, when blank-verse was first used in dramatic compositions performed at the public theatres of the metropolis?

Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, mentions 'two prose books played at the Bell Savage;' and *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, already examined, is an instance of an early 'history' in prose, although printed to look like metre. These seem to have been exceptions to the ordinary rule, for Gosson, in his *Plays Confuted in five Actions*, tells us that 'poets send their verses to the stage upon such feet, as continually are rolled up in rhyme.' He says nothing of blank-verse, and there is no doubt that when he wrote, prose and rhyme only were used in popular dramatic exhibitions.

Blank-verse was first employed in plays performed at the public theatres of London, about the year 1586, four or five years after Gosson had published his *Plays Confuted in five Actions*. The evidence of this fact is contained in the epistle by Thomas Nash 'to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities,' prefixed to Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, printed in 1587. We there meet with the following passage:—

'I am not ignorant how eloquent our gowned age

'is grown of late, so that every mechanical mate 'abhorreth the English he was born to, and plucks, 'with a solemn periphrasis, his *ut vales* from the ink-'horn: which I impute not so much to the perfection 'of arts, as to the servile imitation of *vain-glorious* '*tragedians*, who contend not so seriously to excel in 'action, as to embowel the clouds in a speech of 'comparison; thinking themselves more than initiated 'in poets' immortality, if they but once get Boreas by 'the beard, and the heavenly Bull by the dewlap. But 'herein I cannot so fully bequeath them to folly, as 'their idiot *art-masters*, that intrude themselves to our 'ears as the alchymists of eloquence, who (mounted 'on *the stage* of arrogance) think to outbrave better 'pens with *the swelling bombast of bragging blank-*'*verse*. Indeed, it may be the engrafted overflow of 'some kill-cow conceit, that overcloyeth their imagina-'tion with a more than drunken resolution, being not 'extemporal in the invention of any other means to 'vent their manhood, commits the digestion of their 'choleric incumbrances to the spacious volubility of *a* '*drumming decasyllabon*. Amongst this kind of men, 'that *repose eternity in the mouth of a player*, I can 'but engross some deep-read school-men or gram-'marians, who having no more learning in their skull 'than will serve to take up a commodity, nor art in 'their brain than was nourished in a serving-man's 'idleness, will take upon them to be the ironical cen-'sors of all, when God and poetry doth know they are 'the simplest of all.'

Hence it is quite evident that blank-verse had been employed upon the common stage prior to 1587, when the work from which the above quotation is made bears date. Nash talks of 'the swelling bombast of bragging blank-verse,' which he also calls 'a drumming decasyllabon,' and ridicules those who 'reposed eternity in the mouth of a player.' The turn of expression in the whole passage also seems to show clearly, that independently of any general censure of the dramatic poets of the time, Nash had also some particular individual allusion. Having been entered of St. John's College in 1585, he was obliged to leave the University in 1587, without taking his degree*, and coming to London he joined his friend Greene, who was supporting himself by his prolific pen:—'Give 'me the man' (says Nash of Greene, in another part of the address above quoted) 'whose extemporal vein 'in any humour will excell our greatest *art-masters*' 'deliberate thoughts; whose inventions, quicker than 'his eye, will challenge the proudest rhetorician to the 'contention of the like perfection with the like expe-'dition.' It will be observed that Nash twice employs

* He was engaged with some friend in writing a satirical piece called *Terminus et non Terminus:* his friend was expelled, and it is doubtful if Nash did not share his disgrace and punishment: at all events he could not take his degree; and this circumstance is alluded to in the epistle of 'England to her three Daughters,' in *Polimanteia*, 1595, where, speaking of Nash and Harvey, the writer says, 'Cambridge, make thy two children friends: thou hast been unkind to 'the one [Nash] *to wean him before his time*, and too fond upon the 'other to keep him so long without preferment.'—Sign. Q 4.

the term 'art-master' contemptuously, and I apprehend that it has reference to some individual who had set himself up as a sort of rival of Greene, or, in the phrase of Nash, 'to outbrave a better pen.' The prefatory matter to one of the productions of Greene, which was published in the year following that in which Nash's address 'to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities' was printed, may enable us to decide to whom the term 'art-master' alludes.

Greene's *Perimedes, the Blacksmith*, appeared in 1588; and in the epistle 'to the Gentlemen readers,' after stating that he still keeps his 'old course to palter up something *in prose*,' he goes on to mention, that the motto he usually prefixed to his productions, *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*, had been 'had in derision' by 'two gentlemen poets,' because (says Greene) 'I could not make my verses jet on 'the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the 'mouth like the faburden of Bow-Bell, daring God out 'Heaven with that atheist *Tamburlan*, or blasphem-'ing with the mad priest of the sun.' Farther on he laughs at the 'prophetical spirits' of those 'who set the end of scholarism in an *English blank-verse*,' and who had accused him of not being able to write it. Greene, at this date, was a highly popular author of pamphlets, if not of plays; and it is a curious fact, to be gathered from what he adds, that his incapacity in the last respect was then important enough to have been even brought in some way upon one of the theatres: — 'If I speak darkly, Gentle-

men' (he proceeds), 'and offend with this digression, I 'crave pardon, in that I but answer in print what 'they have offered *on the Stage**.' Greene seems to have felt very sore at the charge, that he could not write blank-verse, and make it 'jet in tragical buskins' as well as some of his contemporaries; and it is, therefore, fair to infer that prior to the date when he was writing, 1588, he had made the attempt. He particularly specifies two plays of this kind that had been successful—one in which 'the mad priest of the sun' was exhibited, and the other *Tamburlaine*, the author of which was Christopher Marlow. It is to be observed that Marlow took his degree of *Master of Arts* in the very year when Nash was unable to do so in consequence of being obliged to quit Cambridge in disgrace. I apprehend that it is to Marlow Nash alludes, under the term 'art-master,' in the quotations already made from his address prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1587.

I thus arrive at the conclusion, that Christopher Marlow was our first poet who used blank-verse in dramatic compositions performed in public theatres—that *Tamburlaine* was the name of the play in which the successful experiment was made, and that it had been acted anterior to 1587. The two parts of *Tamburlaine the Great* are extant, but nothing is now

* Perhaps something in the same way that Ben Jonson subsequently, in his *Case is Altered*, brought Anthony Munday on the stage in the character of Antonio Balladino, 'Pageant Poet of the City of Milan.' See Act i. Sc. 1.

known of any piece of that date in which the 'Priest of the Sun' formed a character.

There are three pieces of evidence to show that Marlow was the author of *Tamburlaine the Great*, two of which have never yet been noticed. The most conclusive is the subsequent entry in Henslowe's MS. Diary, preserved at Dulwich College, which escaped the eye of Malone.

'Pd. [paid] to Thomas Dekker, the 20th of De-'sember, 1597, for adycyons to *Fosstus* twentye shel-'linges, and fyve shellinges more for *a prolog to* '*Marloes Tamburlan:* so in all I saye payde twen-'tye fyve shellinges.'

Here we see Marlow's *Tamburlaine* mentioned in connection with his *Faustus*, to the latter of which Dekker had made some additions, and written a new prologue for the former. The date of the entry seems to show that the Lord Admiral's players had been required to act at court during the festivities of Christmas, 1597, and that two of Marlow's plays having been selected by the Master of the Revels, Dekker was called upon to contribute some novelty to both. This testimony may be considered decisive, and it is a known fact that other dramatists were often required to furnish new matter, in the shape of additions and prologues, to the dramatic works of preceding authors. Gabriel Harvey also (the antagonist of Nash), in 1593, just after the death of Marlow in June of that year, speaks of him by the name of Tamberlaine, when there could be no reason for chusing that

designation, but that he was the author of the play. It is in the '*New Letter of Notable Contents*,' 1598, which notices the untimely fate of both Greene and Marlow: in reference to the latter, a sonnet appended, entitled, 'Gorgon or the wonderful Year,' ends with the following line:—

'Weep, Pauls: thy *Tamberlaine* vouchsafes to die.'

The third proof depends upon the authority of Thomas Heywood, who, according to Henslowe's Diary, had written a play in 1596, and who, though young, might have been contemporary with Marlow. He published the *Jew of Malta*, in 1633, with an occasional prologue of his own, on its revival at the Cockpit theatre, in which he attributes that play, as well as *Tamburlaine* and *Hero and Leander*, to Marlow, whose name at length is inserted in the margin opposite*. Malone's crude notion that *Tamburlaine* was possibly written by Thomas Nash, (founded

* Heywood's lines are the following; and their meaning seems quite plain and intelligible, although the editor of the recent reprint of *Marlow's Works* (Vol. I. p. xx.), by misplaced ingenuity has endeavoured to torture the words to a different construction.

'We know not how our play may pass this stage,
'But by the best of poets [Marlo] in that age,
'The Malta Jew had being and was made;
'And he then by the best of actors [Allin] play'd.
'In *Hero and Leander* one did gain
'A lasting memory; in *Tamburlaine*,
'This Jew with others many: th' other wan
'The attribute of peerless, being a man
'Whom we may rank with (doing no one wrong)
'Proteus for shapes, and Roscius for a tongue.'

Heywood here first speaks of the poet as the author of *Hero and*

upon an ambiguous expression in *The Black Book*, 1604,) is thus refuted on all sides. Had Nash been the author of it, Greene would scarcely have abused it by name, in 1588, without laying any stress upon the allusion to it by Nash himself, in the year preceding.

The most reasonable ground for resisting the claim of Marlow to the two parts of *Tamburlaine the Great*, arises out of some obvious defects in its style—that it is turgid and bombastic—that the language is not pure, and that the thoughts are sometimes violent and unnatural. Those who have raised this objection, have never taken into consideration the purpose of the author; and to adduce *Tamburlaine* as our earliest popular dramatic composition in blank-verse is to present it in an entirely new light, most important in considering the question of its merits and defects.

The probability seems to be, that Marlow was likewise the writer of the play, in which the 'Priest of the Sun' prominently figured; but putting that point out of sight, as we are without any means of deciding it, we may assert that when writing *Tamburlaine*, Marlow contemplated a most important change and improvement in English dramatic poetry. Until it appeared, plays upon the public stages were written, sometimes in prose, but most commonly in rhyme; and the object of Marlow was to substitute blank-

Leander, *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta*, 'with others many,' and secondly, of the player, who in his department had been peerless. It is not to be understood that Marlow had written a play on the story of *Hero and Leander*: Heywood alludes to the paraphrase of Musæus, commenced by Marlow and finished by Chapman.

verse. His genius was daring and original: he felt that prose was heavy and unattractive, and rhyme unnatural and wearisome; and he determined to make a bold effort, to the success of which we know not how much to attribute of the after excellence of even Shakespeare himself. We cannot suppose, that had Marlow never lived, Shakespeare would have remained content in the clinking shackles of rhyme; but it is certain that in his earlier dramatic compositions, he shows a greater degree of fondness for it than some of his contemporaries. In an alteration of this kind, a great deal must always depend upon the spirit of the age, which will be sure to find its own instruments to effect it. The expressions Marlow uses in his short prologue, to the first part of *Tamburlaine the Great*, are important.

'From jigging veins of *rhyming mother wits*,
'And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
'We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
'Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
'Threatening the world with *high astounding terms*,
'And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword.
'View but his picture in this tragic glass,
'And then applaud his fortunes as you please *.'

The meaning of these lines, in other words, is that the author was about to abandon the use of rhyme, and low conceits fit only for clowns, in order to substitute blank-verse, and heroic deeds told in language

* It was for this prologue, obviously ill adapted to the court in the year 1597, that Dekker was required by Henslowe to substitute another, and for which that poet was paid five shillings.

to which the audience was not accustomed. On this account, he incurred the unmerited ridicule of the two friends, Nash and Greene; the first, in 1587, charging him with 'outbraving better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank-verse;' and the last, in 1588, accusing him of employing words which 'filled the mouth like the fa-burden of Bow-bell.' Marlow had a purpose to accomplish; he had undertaken to wean the multitude from the 'jigging veins of rhyming mother-wits,' which, according to Gosson, were so attractive; and in order to accomplish this object it was necessary to give something in exchange for what he took away. Hence the 'swelling bombast' of the style in which much of the two parts of *Tamburlaine the Great* is written. Marlow did not 'set the end of scholarism in an English blank-verse;' but he thought that the substitution of blank-verse for rhyme would be a most valuable improvement in our drama; and many lines 'full of sound and fury,' were not inserted in his experimental play because he thought them good, but because he hoped the audience would think them so: he wrote *ad captandum*, and it is unfair to try him by the ordinary rules of good taste and sound criticism.

He brought everything he could render available to his aid upon this occasion, which may in some degree excuse him for adopting the following simile of the almond-tree from Spenser.

'And in my helm a triple plume shall spring,
'Spangled with diamonds dancing in the air,

'To note me Emperor of the three-fold world;
'Like to an almond tree ymounted high
'Upon the lofty and celestial mount
'Of ever green Selinis, quaintly decked
'With blooms more white than Hericina's brows,
'Whose tender blossoms tremble every one,
'At every little breath that thorough heaven is blown *.'

These lines are found in the second part of *Tamburlaine*, which, with the first part, was printed in 1590, the same year in which the three first books of the Fairy Queen appeared. Marlow must, therefore, have had access to Spenser's work anterior to its publication, and we know that the poems of Shakespeare, and of other poets, were circulated among their friends before they were printed. I willingly give Spenser credit for being the original author of the simile, but not by any means for the reasons stated by the editor of the late reprint of Marlow's works: one of them is, that Marlow has adopted in the last line the alexandrine of Spenser; which, we are told, 'is an 'insulated instance of the use of a line of that length 'throughout the play.' The fact is, that from twenty to thirty examples of similar alexandrines are to be found in the two parts of *Tamburlaine*, and with Marlow the insertion of a line of that length was a usual method of varying his measure †. In the second

* Compare Spenser, F. Q., B. I., c. vii., st. 32.

† Steevens, professing to cite this passage from Marlow's *Tamburlaine*, not only cuts off two syllables for the purpose of avoiding the appearance of an alexandrine, but makes other singular misquotations, which could hardly have proceeded even from extreme carelessness. See Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, xvii. 86.

part of *Tamburlaine* we meet also with a whole scene for which the author was indebted to Ariosto; and if Marlow did not read Italian, perhaps he obtained it through the medium of Sir John Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, while in MS., and before it was printed in 1591. It is to be found in the 29th Book, where Isabella, to save herself from the lawless passion of Rodomont, anoints her neck with a decoction of herbs, which she pretends will render it invulnerable: she then presents her throat to the Pagan, who, believing her assertion, aims a blow and strikes off her head. In Marlow's play, Olympia by precisely the same expedient preserves herself from Theridamas.

Marlow could not have selected for his purpose a better subject than the life and conquests of Tamburlaine, who rose from the lowest grade of life to the loftiest honours of a throne: instead of the 'conceits which clownage kept in pay,' he carried the spectators 'to the stately tent of war,' and took ample room for striking effects and novel situations. He seems, however, to have apprehended that he could not accomplish his great change instantly; and in order, to a certain extent, to gratify the appetite of the mob, he introduced into his performance scenes of low humour and buffoonery, which are omitted in the printed copies, the publisher informing the reader that he considered them derogatory 'to so honourable and stately a history.' The reason for their insertion was the same as for the employment of 'high astounding terms'—

not that they were good, but that they would be applauded; and Marlow himself no more approved of the one than of the other. The popularity of the two parts of *Tamburlaine the Great* cannot be doubted: they are often alluded to by contemporary writers*,

* Tamburlaine is twice mentioned in *The first part of the Tragical Raigne of Selimus, sometime Emperour of the Turks*, 1594, a play written in obvious rivalship of Marlow's popular performance. The author of *Selimus* did not dare, however, to go the full length of his bold original, and much of the piece is, therefore, in rhyme, in an ambitious strain, but without any originality of thought: the following is not ill-expressed—

'Looke how the earth, clad in her sommer's pride,
'Embroydereth her mantle gorgiously
'With fragrant hearbes and flowers gaily dide,
'Spreading abroad her spangled tapestrie,
'Yet under all a loathsome snake doth hide:
'Such is our life: under crownes cares do lie,
'And feare the scepter still attends upon.
'Oh! who can take delight in kingly throne?'

Blank-verse is also interspersed, thereby, to a certain extent, following up Marlow's experiment, but it is of a heavy, lumbering, and formal kind, as may be judged from the following mixed specimen from one of the best parts of the play—

'Now, faire Natolia, shall thy stately walles
'Be overthrowne and beaten to the ground:
'My heart within me for revenge still calles.
'What, Bajazet, thought'st thou that Acomat
'Would put up such a monstrous injurie?
'Then had I brought my chivalry in vaine,
'And to no purpose drawne my conquering blade,
'Which, now unsheath'd, shall not be sheath'd againe
'Till it a world of bleeding soules hath made.'

The whole play is full of blood and slaughter, and the author promises, in the second part of his tragedy, (which has not survived,) to tell of still 'greater murders.' The printer of *Selimus*, Thomas Creede, has not thought fit, like the printer of *Tamburlaine*, to omit the comic

and in the prologue to the second part, the author acknowledges the 'general welcomes' the first part had received. It appears by the title-page of the earliest printed edition, in 1590, that the two parts were not acted at one theatre, nor on one stage only—'as they were sundry times most stately showed upon 'stages in the city of London.'

It is by no means fair, therefore, to examine *Tamburlaine the Great* without bearing this fact in memory:—that it was the first attempt of the kind, and that Marlow made great sacrifices, as a poet, to promote its success. It will at once account for all the fustian and hyperbole by which the production unquestionably is disfigured, but which is sometimes of such a striking character, that we must pronounce even its absurdities the work of a man of fervid and exalted genius. Take, for instance, the following speech by Tamburlaine to Cosroe, after the hero has dethroned him, and as an excuse for his ambition—

'The thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown,
'That caus'd the eldest son of heavenly Ops
'To thrust his doating father from his chair
'And place himself in the empyreal heaven,
'Mov'd me to manage arms against thy state.
'What better precedent than mighty Jove?
'Nature, that form'd us of four elements,
'Warring within our breasts for regiment,

portions, and accordingly we find in it several scenes of the coarsest and most absurd description, intended, by the author, to be very laughable; and, perhaps, at that date he was not disappointed in his expectation.

'Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds:
'Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
'The wondrous architecture of the world,
'And measure every wand'ring planet's course,
'Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
'And always moving as the restless spheres,
'Will us to wear ourselves, and never rest,
'Until we reach the ripest fruits of all—
'That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
'The sweet fruition of an earthly crown.'

This quotation is much in the spirit of the opening scene of Marlow's *Faustus*, the difference being, that the hero there applies to the thirst of knowledge what Tamburlaine says of the thirst of power. No one but a great poet could have written the following piece of hyperbole on the beauty of Zenocrate, when Tamburlaine first beholds her.

'Ah, fair Zenocrate! Divine Zenocrate!
'Fair is too foul an epithet for thee,
'That in thy passion for thy country's love,
'And fear to see thy kingly father's harm,
'With hair dishevell'd wip'st thy watery cheeks,
'And, like to Flora in her morning pride,
'Shaking her silver tresses in the air,
'Rain'st on the earth resolved pearl in showers,
'And sprinklest sapphires on thy shining face,
'Where Beauty, mother to the Muses, sits
'And comments volumes with her ivory pen,
'Taking instructions from thy flowing eyes.'

Besides the splendour of their diction, the rhythmical harmony of these passages must be universally admitted, and nothing could be easier than to multiply extracts of the same character: the gorgeous

exaggeration of the language is, in some sort, adapted to the

'Souls made of fire and children of the sun *,'

by whom it is delivered.

Although Marlow's purpose was the substitution of blank-verse for rhyme, he does not scruple, especially in the first part of *Tamburlaine the Great*, to sprinkle couplets, even with a liberal hand, in order, perhaps, to give greater effect to particular passages, to close speeches soundingly, and, as it were, gradually to wean the popular ear from that to which it had been so long accustomed. In the second part of the play he is more sparing in the use of this jingling appendage; and, taken as a whole, it is written with less violence and extravagance of thought, and with more purity of diction. The fact seems to be, that the great change he attempted was almost at once accomplished, and in the sequel of the same story, the author scarcely required this occasional ornament. As one proof, among many, of the completeness, as well as suddenness, of the alteration, it may be noticed that the

* Dr. Young has endeavoured to do much the same in his *Revenge*, which, in many parts, is an unconscious imitation of the style of *Tamburlaine*, without the same excuse. He probably never saw Marlow's production; but, nevertheless, in one place he has fallen upon the very same thought:—Zanga says,

'Tis twice three years since that great man—
Great let me call him, for he conquer'd me—
Made me his captive,' &c.

Marlow puts it into a single line, with no injury to the force of the passage: Bajazet exclaims after his fall,

'Great Tamburlaine—great in my overthrow—' &c.

Moral, called *The Three Ladies of London*, printed in 1584, is written in rhyme, while the second part of the same subject, which followed it at no great interval, and which was published in 1590, entitled *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, is in blank-verse. In fact, after 1587, dramatic performances were very rarely in rhyme, as far as we can judge from those that are extant.

The second part of *Tamburlaine the Great*, as a spectacle, must have been quite as captivating to the multitude as the first. In it occurs the scene which has been ridiculed by Shakespeare and other dramatists *, but which must have produced, as was intended by the author, a striking effect upon an auditory accustomed, until Marlow wrote, only to 'the jigging veins of rhyming mother wits,' and the 'conceits which clownage kept in pay.' Tamburlaine, in his chariot, is drawn upon the stage by the kings of Trebizond and Syria; but even here we meet with glimpses of noble poetry through clouds of inflated absurdity:—

'The horse that guide the golden eye of heaven,
'And blow the morning from their nostrils,
'Making their fiery gait above the clouds,
'Are not so honour'd †'———

* In addition to the instances mentioned in the note to Henry IV., P. 2, Act ii. Scene 4, *The Fleire*, by Edward Sharpham, may be mentioned.—See Sig. C 4, Edit. 1615. This play was first printed in 1607.

† Marlow, in this passage, was plagiarised by the anonymous author of the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607.

'He on his golden-trapped palfreys rides,
'That from their nostrils do the morning blow.'

The first scene of Act ii. contains a similar theft from Spenser.

When Zenocrate is at the point of death, Tamburlaine says,

'Now walk the Angels on the walls of heaven,
'As sentinels, to warn the immortal souls
'To entertain divine Zenocrate;'

and nothing can be finer than Tamburlaine's description, near his last moments, of Death waiting to seize him, but shrinking from his look:—

'See where my slave, the ugly monster, Death,
'Shaking and quivering, pale and wan with fear,
'Stands aiming at me with his murdering dart,
'Who flies away at every glance I give,
'And when I look away comes stealing on.'

I have said thus much in vindication of Marlow, and of the design of his work, because neither have hitherto been properly understood, and justly appreciated. With regard to the execution, independent of the mere point of versification, it is necessary to add that time and place are set at defiance, and that the scene of action is changed, in the same act, from Persia to Scythia, from thence to Georgia, and again to Morocco, without any explanation beyond the mention now and then by one of the characters, soon after the change, of the place the stage is intended to represent. Where the imagination only was appealed to, this was a matter of no difficulty, especially with the additional information supplied by a board, on which the name of the country or city was inscribed, and which was not unfrequently employed, where the necessary intelligence could not otherwise be conveni-

ently given to the audience. I shall now proceed to notice Marlow's other performances, having, I apprehend, said enough to show that *Tamburlaine*, as a dramatic poem, considered by itself, is very far from contemptible, and taken with relation to the circumstances under which, and the purpose for which it was written, that it merits high admiration.

Marlow's *Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, in all probability was written very soon after his *Tamburlaine the Great*, as in 1588, 'a *ballad* of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus,' (which in the language of that time, might mean either the play or a metrical composition founded upon its chief incidents,) was licensed to be printed. The earliest known edition of Marlow's Tragedy is dated in 1604, and there is very good reason for thinking that much had then been added to it, with which the original author had no concern. It seems to have been written in the first instance for the Lord Admiral's players, and from an entry in Henslowe's journal, already quoted, of the year 1597, we learn that it had been performed so long and so often, as to require 'additions' by Dekker: in 1602, William Birde and Samuel Rowley were paid 4*l.* for farther 'additions.' As the usual price of a new play at this date was only 6*l.*, or at most 8*l.*, we may conclude that the additions last made were very considerable, and with them, probably, the piece was printed in 1604*.

* At a later date, some fresh alterations were made, as is evidenced by the edition of 1663, in which a scene at Rome is transferred to

This may account for the introduction of a good deal of buffoonery, intended to be comic, and which no doubt was well relished by the auditory: some of it might, however, have originated with Marlow, and the printer of his *Tamburlaine*, it will be recollected, exercised his discretion in leaving out the comic portion of that performance.

Faustus was intended to follow up the design, which may almost be said to have been accomplished in *Tamburlaine*, and to establish the use of blank-verse on the public stage. Here the poet, wishing to astonish, and to delight by astonishing, has called in the aid of magic and supernatural agency, and has wrought from his materials, a drama full of power, novelty, interest, and variety. All the serious scenes of *Faustus* eminently excite both pity and terror.

Before I enter upon a cursory examination of the ingredients and structure of *Faustus*, it may be proper to remark, that I shall follow it up by a similar criticism upon his other plays, (as nearly as I can judge in the order in which they were written), with a view to trace the gradual improvement of his style and versification, and to show that he often introduced into his 'mighty line' (as Ben Jonson calls it), not less vigour and majesty than Shakespeare, with such varieties of pause, inflection, and modulation, as left our greatest dramatist little more to do than to follow

Constantinople, and another interpolated from *The Rich Jew of Malta*. Henslowe notices the performance of Faustus in 1594 and 1597; in the last instance, perhaps, as improved by Dekker's additions.

his example. This position supposes, as I have already endeavoured to establish, that Shakespeare had not written any of his original plays prior to 1593, (when Marlow was killed,) although, anterior to that year, he might have employed himself in altering and improving for representation some of the works of older dramatists. It is, of course, important to trace the gradual improvement of blank-verse in the hands of Marlow; and I may be excused for dwelling upon the subject more at large, because it has been totally neglected by those who have treated of the versification of Shakespeare, who do not seem to be aware how comparatively little he added to the force, richness, or melody of what one of our elder critics upon English poetry has aptly denominated 'the licentiate Iambic *.'

The body of Mr. Boswell's 'Essay on the Phraseology and Metre of Shakespeare' is a singular contradiction to its title, for while he devotes many pages to the style and peculiarities of preceding poets, he only just before the close 'calls the reader's attention 'to the important change which Shakespeare effected 'in our dramatic versification;' and the three pages which follow, as far as they prove anything, establish that Shakespeare effected no change at all. Mr. Boswell admits that Marlow improved our versification, but it never occurred to him to inquire who made the first bold attempt in popular plays to throw

* Thomas Campion, in his *Observations on the Art of English Poesie*, 1602. Chap. iv.

off the trammels of rhyme, and in this respect to produce a complete revolution in the public taste.

It will be evident that the long use of rhyme, in which the ear waited for the recurrence of the corresponding sound, led at first to the formation and employment of what may be termed couplets in blank-verse; in which the pauses occurred at the ends of the lines, and the sense was only completed with the completion of the couplet. Hence the weight and monotony of the earlier attempts of the kind in Sackville, Gascoigne, and, although in a less degree, in Hughes. This defect is also to be found in Marlow's first experiment, as may be seen in the preceding quotations from *Tamburlaine;* and when he produced his *Faustus* he had not yet learnt to avoid it. The following lines are given to Faustus, after his first interview with Mephostophilis and before he has entered into the infernal compact, by subscribing it with his own blood—

'Had I as many souls as there be stars,
'I'd give them all for Mephostophilis.
'By him I'll be great emperor of the world,
'And make a bridge thorough the moving air
'To pass the ocean with a band of men:
'I'll join the hills that bind the Afric shore,
'And make that country continent to Spain
'And both contributary to my crown.
'The Emperor shall not live but by my leave,
'Nor any potentate in Germany.'

Here the words terminating the lines are nearly all monosyllables, and each line runs as if a rhyme were

wanting, and as if it had been omitted by accident rather than by design. Alterations were made in the play from time to time, even by Marlow himself, and it is therefore impossible to speak decisively upon the point; but, as the piece stands in the edition of 1604, the author improved his blank-verse even as he proceeded. The subsequent passage is from near the middle of *Faustus*, after the hero has been warned by his good angel to repent—

'My heart is harden'd: I cannot repent!
'Scarce can I name salvation, faith or heaven:
'Swords, poison, halters and envenom'd steel
'Are laid before me to dispatch myself;
'And long ere this I should have done the deed,
'Had not sweet pleasure conquer'd deep despair.
'Have I not made blind Homer sing to me
'Of Alexander's love and Œnon's death?
'And hath not he, that built the walls of Thebes
'With ravishing sounds of his melodious harp,
'Made music with my Mephostophilis?
'Why should I die then, or basely despair?
'I am resolv'd! Faustus shall not repent.'

The monosyllabic closes to the lines are still continued, but what forcible variety is given to them by the tri-syllable 'ravishing,' and by the change of the accent in the words 'basely' and 'Faustus.' It was not meant that we should read 'basely' and 'Faustùs,' for the words were never so accentuated; but the poet purposely inserted them for the sake of lessening the sameness of the cadences. The verse rivals the music it celebrates, and we may decide, with some confidence, that these lines, and such as these, came from the pen

of Marlow. In the last act we meet with still further varieties: while Faustus is awaiting the latest moment of his latest hour, expecting every instant to be seized by the fiend to whom he had bound himself in consideration of the grant of supernatural power, he says;

'The stars move still, time runs, the clock will strike,
'The devil will come, and Faustus must be damn'd!
'Oh, I'll leap up to Heaven!—Who pulls me down?
'See where Christ's blood streams in the firmament.
'One drop of blood will save me! Oh, my Christ!
'Rend not my heart for naming of my Christ.
'Yet will I call on him—Oh, spare me, Lucifer!
'Where is it now?—'tis gone!
'And see a threatening arm and angry brow.
'Mountains and hills! come, come, and fall on me,
'And hide me from the heavy wrath of heaven!'

What language, or what form of verse could be better adapted to the situation of Faustus at this terrible crisis of his fate? Here we find nothing like monotony, but a constant change of pause and inflection, with the introduction of an alexandrine and a hemistich to aid the effect. Shakespeare constantly uses both, in plays the versification of which may be deemed most perfect. It is to be added, that in *Faustus* Marlow almost entirely rejects rhyme, even in occasional couplets; and several scenes of plain prose are also introduced—possibly by him, as the same circumstance is to be remarked in *Tamburlaine*.

The time supposed to be occupied in the course of the tragedy is four-and-twenty years; and as Marlow appears to have followed the story in the 'old

Romance of Faustus,' the scene often passes from country to country with the rapidity of thought.

If it be objected to Marlow that, in his *Massacre at Paris*, he appealed to vulgar prejudices, he did no more than Dryden and Lee attempted a century afterwards, without the excuse of the excitement of a comparatively recent event. The only old edition of it was printed without date (probably about the year 1595); but from a clear allusion in it to the Spanish Armada, we may conclude that it was produced soon after 1588*. We have it evidently only in a very mutilated state, and possibly it was at best a very hasty performance, got up for a temporary purpose. The earliest entry of its performance, by Henslowe's company, is dated January 30, 1592, when it was called *The Guise*, from the Duke of Guise, who, of course, is a very prominent character. We have seen that at a subsequent date John Webster either wrote another play with the title of *The Guise*, or made large additions to Marlow's *Massacre at Paris*, which was subsequently called *The Massacre of France*. The printed copy, however, is too early to include anything by Webster.

The Massacre at Paris possibly, in point of date, preceded *Faustus:* if it were written afterwards it is no improvement in versification, and that, perhaps, might have been a sufficient reason for noticing it first, if *Faustus* had not been apparently intended

* Did he not cause the King of Spain's huge fleet
To threaten England and to menace me?—Act iii. Sc. 2.

by its author to follow up the poetical enterprise undertaken in *Tamburlaine.* It has no pretensions to dramatic interest, and the incidents are confusedly treated, while we might 'lay the summer's dust with the showers of blood,' shed in the progress of it. Some portions are, nevertheless, vigorously penned, and the character of the Duke of Guise is not ill sustained. The following quotation will illustrate that character, and at the same time exhibit the kind of blank-verse generally employed: it is part of a soliloquy spoken by Guise.

'Now, Guise, begin those deep engender'd thoughts
'To burst abroad, those never-dying flames,
'Which cannot be extinguish'd but by blood.
'Oft have I levell'd, and at last have learn'd,
'That peril is the chiefest way to happiness,
'And resolution honour's fairest aim.
'What glory is there in a common good,
'That hangs for every peasant to achieve?
'That like I best that flies beyond my reach.
'Set me to scale the high Pyramides,
'And thereon set the diadem of France;
'I'll either rend it with my nails to nought,
'Or mount the top with my aspiring wings,
'Although my downfall be the deepest hell.'

With regard to this play, I am in possession of a singular proof, if any were wanted, of the imperfect state in which it appears in the old printed copy, published perhaps from what could be taken down in short-hand, or otherwise, during the representation. I have a single leaf of an original contemporary MS. of

this play, possibly as it came from the hands of Marlow, which shows how much was omitted, and how injuriously the rest was garbled. Even the names of the characters were mistaken, and he who is called *Mugeron* in the old edition was, in fact, called *Minion*, consistently with his situation and habits. I will copy the MS. *literatim*, and the reader will be able to compare it with part of the play, as it is re-published in *Marlow's Works* *.

'*Enter a Souldier with a muskett,*

'*Souldier.* Now, sir, to you that dares make a duke a 'cuckolde and use a counterfeyt key to his privye chamber: 'though you take out none but your owne treasure, yett 'you put in that displeases him, and fill up his rome that 'he shold occupye. Herein, sir, you forestalle the markett 'and set up your standinge where you shold not. But 'you will saye you leave him rome enoghe besides. That's 'no answere: he's to have the choyce of his owne freeland, 'yf it be not too free; there's the questione. Now, for 'where he is your landlorde, you take upon you to be his 'and will needs enter by defaulte: whatt thoughe you 'were once in possession, yett comminge upon you once 'unawares, he frayde you out againe: therefore your entrye 'is mere intrusione. This is against the law, sir; and 'though I come not to keepe possessione, as I wold I 'might, yet I come to keepe you out, sir. You are well-'come, sir. Have at you. [*He kills him.*

'*Enter Minion.*

'*Minion.* Trayterouse Guise! ah, thou hast morthered me!

'*Enter Guise.*

'Hold the[e], tall Soldier: take the[e] this and flye. [*Exit.*

* Act II. Sc. 6, vol. ii. p. 232.

'Thus fall, imperfett exhalatione,
'Which our great soun of Fraunce cold not effecte;
'A fyery meteor in the fermament.
'Lye there, the kinge's delyght and Guise's scorne!
'Revenge it, Henry, yf thou liste or darst:
'I did it onely in dispight of thee.
'Fondlie hast thou incenste the Guise's sowle,
'That of it selfe was hote enough to worke
'Thy just degestione with extreamest shame.
'The armye I have gatherd now shall ayme
'More at thy ende then exterpatione;
'And when thou thinkst I have forgotten this,
'And that thou most reposest in my faythe,
'Then will I wake thee from thy folishe dreame,
'And lett thee see thie selfe my prysoner. [*Exeunt.*'

It is rarely, indeed, that an opportunity can be thus obtained, of comparing an old printed copy of a play with a contemporary MS., in order to show what was omitted. Here, much of what falls from the Soldier is not printed, and only four lines of the speech by Guise, which is at least as good as any other part of the play.

The Jew of Malta, by Marlow, contains, in its original prologue, spoken by Machiavel, an allusion to *The Massacre at Paris*, which had preceded it. It was entered by Henslowe in his list in February, 1591-2, but it does not then seem to have been a new play, and it was probably written about 1589 or 1590. The plot was invented, and the characters formed, to take powerful hold of the vulgar mind, and to gratify it by the exhibition of blood and horror to an extent that appears in our day either ludicrous or revolting.

The character of Barabas is not human, but it is nevertheless consistent with the notions of a Jew entertained by our ancestors. In many scenes the versification is vigorous, rich and harmonious; in others, it is loose, careless, and irregular, but never languid: in every part it appears to be the work of an energetic mind, with an imagination 'all air and fire.' Marlow must have written with facility and rapidity, which renders it the more likely that Nash alluded to him in 1587, as a person who attempted to rival Greene in 'the contention of the like perfection with the like 'expedition.' His life was very short—he was devoted to pleasure, and yet he has left behind him many plays and poems. The following extract opens the second act of *The Jew of Malta*, and the first line affords another instance of the redundancy of a syllable in the middle of a verse, which is to be retrenched in the recitation. Barabas speaks, after having been deprived of his wealth—

'Thus like the sad presaging raven, that tolls
'The sick man's passport in her hollow beak *,

* This play was undoubtedly very popular, and the two lines which open this quotation are cited, with some slight variation, in an epigram upon Thomas Deloney, the famous ballad-writer, in the anonymous collection of epigrams and satires, entitled, *Skialetheia or the Shadowe of Truth*, printed in 1598. It is in the following terms, the two borrowed lines being printed in Italic—

'*Like to the fatall ominous Raven, which tolls*
'*The sick man's dirge within his hollow beake,*
'So every paper-clothed post in Poules
'To thee (Deloney) mourningly doth speake,
'And tells thee of thy hempen tragedie:

'And in the shadow of the silent night
'Doth shake contagion from her sable wings,
'Vex'd and tormented runs poor Barabas,
'With fatal curses towards the Christians.
'The uncertain pleasures of swift-footed time
'Have ta'en their flight and left me in despair,
'And of my former riches rest no more
'But bare remembrance:—like a soldier's scar
'That hath no farther comfort for his maim.'

These lines are an improvement upon any we have had occasion before to quote; and the subsequent passage, also spoken by the hero, is a still happier illustration of the contrivances used by Marlow to introduce variety into his pauses: it opens strikingly by a broken verse—

'I am betrayed!
'Tis not five hundred crowns that I esteem;
'I am not mov'd at that: this angers me,
'That he who knows I love him as myself
'Should write in this imperious vein. Why, Sir,
'You know I have no child, and unto whom
'Should I leave all but unto Ithamore?'

We cannot sympathise with Barabas, because he is a mere monster, and his daughter is, in the first

'The wracks of hungry Tyburne nought to thine;
'Such massacres made of thy balladry:
'And thou in griefe for woe thereof must pine.
'At every street's end Fuscus rimes are read,
'And thine in silence must be buried.'

The writer of this epigram no doubt quoted from memory, as although *The Jew of Malta* was entered for publication on the Stationers' Books in 1594, it was not printed until 1633, when it was edited by Thomas Heywood.

instance, too instrumental in her father's bloody purposes, and afterwards too insignificant, to excite compassion in her death. The whole structure of the tragedy is confused, exaggerated, and improbable.

Marlow and Nash were not acquainted with each other in 1587, and Greene was at that date upon bad terms with the former, of whom he appears to have been not a little envious. It is likely that, before the death of Greene, Nash and Marlow, by similarity of pursuits as dramatic authors, mutual admiration of each other's talents, and a common love of good fellowship, were brought together, and the result was a play which they wrote in conjunction, under the title of *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage.* I shall speak of this production, and of the probable share of each author in it, when I criticise the works of Nash.

If not the last, certainly one of the most perfect of Marlow's dramatic productions is his historical play of *The troublesome Reign and lamentable Death of Edward the Second,* which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the month following that of the death of its author*. Although it preceded the dramas of Shakespeare, founded upon events detailed in our Chronicles, it is similar to them in point of construction, and like them is in itself a vast improvement upon such performances, as *The famous*

* Marlow was killed in June, 1593, and his Edward II. was entered in July of that year, but not published until 1598.

Victories of Henry the Fifth, and the old *King John*. Whether any play upon the story of Edward II. was in existence before Marlow wrote his tragedy, by which he might possibly be aided, is not known. Here the author's versification is exhibited in its greatest excellence, and successful experiments are made in nearly all those improvements for which Shakespeare has generally had exclusive credit. The character of Richard II. seems modelled in no slight degree upon that of Edward II.; and without attempting a parallel, the reader will be able, as I proceed, to make at least a partial comparison: in point of versification also, Shakespeare's performance presents no variety of rhythm that may not, I apprehend, be found in the work of Marlow.

The judicious use of alexandrines, for the purpose of relieving the monotony of passages, has been before remarked, and many instances of the same kind may be gathered from his *Edward the Second*. I will only quote a few of them.

'But, for we know thou art a noble gentleman.'
'Thou com'st from Mortimer and his accomplices.'
'To make me miserable! here receive my crown.'
'Further, ere this letter was seal'd Lord Berkley came.'
'Oh, level all your looks upon these daring men.'

It can hardly fail to be observed, that in all these examples the pause is varied. Spenser commonly makes the cæsura fall after the sixth-syllable, which, strictly speaking, is the case with only the last line of those that precede: as Marlow's was to be spoken

language, he well knew that to observe this regularity of pause would have an injurious effect. Malone and others have laid great stress upon the force and variety given to the versification of Shakespeare, by the insertion of redundant syllables: lines of this description, the result of design and not of carelessness, are so numerous in *Edward the Second*, that it would be idle to make any selection, were not redundant syllables sometimes employed in it so happily, that I cannot refrain from subjoining two or three specimens, in connexion with other lines which are regularly formed.

'Away! poor Gaveston, *that* has no friend but me;
'Do what they can we'll live in Tynmouth here;
'And so I walk with him about the walls,
'What care I, though the Earls begirt us round?'
——— 'Now, get thee to thy lords,
'And tell them I will come to chastise them
'For murdering Gaveston. Hie thee, get thee gone!
'Edward, with fire and sword, follows *at* thy heels.'
'These hands were never stain'd with *innocent* blood,
'Nor shall they now be tainted with a king's.'

These are proofs of the truth of Tyrwhitt's remark, that in English a redundant syllable may be admitted into any part of the verse. In the first of the above examples, the redundant syllable seems used chiefly for the sake of lightening the weight of the rather formal lines which succeed it: in the second, it adds greatly to the force and impetuosity of the sentiment expressed; and in the last, we see how much the beauty of the line is increased by the employment of

a dactyl instead of a trochee: 'innocent' may be pronounced as a dissyllable, but to the manifest detriment of the metre.

Malone mentions (in a note to *Henry VI.*, Part 3, Act i., Scene 1,) that 'neither,' 'either,' 'whether,' &c., are used by Shakespeare as monosyllables, as if they had been sounded as dissyllables by the poets who preceded him; but he had this peculiarity at least in common with, if he did not derive it from, Marlow, as the following lines will sufficiently show.

'*Whither* goes my lord of Coventry so fast?'
'Madam, *whither* walks your Majesty so fast?
'*Either*, banish him that was the cause thereof.'
'That *whether* I will or no, thou must depart.'
'*Thither* shall your honour go, and so, farewell.'

Whether Shakespeare were or were not indebted to Marlow for this and other improvements, certain it is that Marlow so far deserves the name of an inventor; because, before his time, this mode of producing an agreeable and enlivening change in the run of dramatic blank-verse was unknown. In all these cases the line, properly spoken, occupies no more time than if it had been composed strictly of ten syllables. In not a few instances, we find that Marlow's lines have only nine syllables; and such is sometimes the case with Shakespeare's most mature compositions: it is at least doubtful, whether both poets did not purposely leave them thus defective; and it will generally be found, that in such lines there is some one word necessarily so emphatic, that the delivery of it requires the same

time as if the line had been regulated by the most patient finger-counting versifier. Marlow, and Shakespeare after him, wrote by the unerring guidance of a correct ear, and not by counting the number of syllables: the latter may be a method of composing measure, but not of writing poetry.

The use of hemistichs and imperfect verses, no matter in what part of a speech, was the effect of design and not of negligence; and here also Marlow set the example which was followed with alacrity by Shakespeare.

I am aware that this dissection of the versification of Marlow may be to the full as tedious as instructive; but it was necessary to put the matter on its true footing, and to establish the unquestionable obligations of dramatic poetry to the first and great improver of blank-verse. I shall subjoin two passages from *Edward the Second*, which I consider striking proofs of his skill in the management of our language, for the purpose of the drama in particular, and which possess at once the three great requisites of richness, harmony, and variety. The first is marked according to the value and weight of the syllables, as denoted by the accent and meaning of the words.

'*Gaveston.* Ōh, treăchĕroŭs Wārwĭck, thūs tŏ wrōng
thў friēnd!
'*James.* Ī sēe ĭt ĭs yoŭr lĭfe thĕse arm̄s pŭrsūe.
'*Gav.* Weăpŏnlĕss mūst Ĭ fāll, ănd dīe ĭn bānds?
'Ōh, mūst thĭs dāy bĕ pĕrĭŏd ŏf mў lĭfe,
'Cēntrĕ ŏf all mў blĭss! Āñd yĕ bĕ mēn,
'Spēed tŏ thĕ Kĭng.

'*Warwick.* My lord of Pembroke's men,
'Strive you no longer—I will have that Gavestone.
'*James.* Your Lordship doth dishonour to yourself,
'And wrong our lord, your honourable friend.
'*Warw.* No, James; it is my country's cause I follow.
'Go, take the villain. Soldiers come, away,
'We'll make quick work. Commend me to your master,
'My friend, and tell him that I watch'd it well.
'Come, let thy shadow parley with king Edward.
'*Gav.* Treacherous Earl, shall not I see the King?
'*Warw.* The King of Heaven perhaps; no other king.'

In this quotation no one line reads precisely like another; and it will be remarked, that the agreeable diversity is importantly assisted by the free use of trochees, instead of monosyllables, at the close of several verses. Trochees were known, it is true, long before Marlow wrote, and they are found scantily dispersed over the wearisome expanse of *Ferrex and Porrex;* but Marlow was the first to discover their beauty and utility, and therefore to insert them frequently. The second passage I shall quote, in proof of Marlow's excellence as a writer of blank-verse, is chiefly from one of the beautiful and affecting speeches given to the unhappy Edward, after he has been deposed by his Queen and Mortimer.

'*Leicester.* Be patient, good my lord: cease to lament.
'Imagine Killingworth-castle were your court,
'And that you lay for pleasure here a space,
'Not of compulsion or necessity.
'*Edward.* Leicester, if gentle words might comfort me,
'Thy speeches long ago had eas'd my sorrows,
'For kind and loving hast thou always been.
'The griefs of private men are soon allay'd,

'But not of kings. The forest deer, being struck,
'Runs to an herb that closeth up the wounds;
'But when the imperial lion's flesh is gored,
'He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,
'[And], highly scorning that the lowly earth
'Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air.'

The last line of this fine quotation is an instance of a verse deficient of a syllable, but not therefore defective in time or measure: the important word 'mounts' is to be dwelt upon with peculiar force and emphasis for the length of two inferior syllables, and the harmony of the rhythm is thus preserved.

It has been asserted by Chalmers, without qualification, and as certainly without proof, that Marlow was the author of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York* *. He had a copy of this old play in his possession, dated in 1595, two years after the death of Marlow †, but it no where appears that he wrote it,

* *Supplemental Apology*, p. 292.

† The story of Marlow's death has been differently related, but it seems now ascertained that he was killed by his rival in love: Marlow found his rival with the lady to whom he was attached, and rushed upon him; but his antagonist, being the stronger, thrust the point of Marlow's own dagger into his head. This event probably occurred at Deptford, where, according to the register of St. Nicholas Church, Marlow was buried on June 1st, 1593, and it is also there recorded that he was 'slain by Francis Archer.' The following relation of this circumstance, which seems to be mistaken in the locality, has never yet been quoted. It is from *The Thunderbolt of God's Wrath against hard-hearted and stiffe-necked sinners*, &c., by Edm. Rudierde, 1618. 4to.

'We read of one Marlow a Cambridge scholler, who was a poet and 'a filthy play-maker: this wretche accounted that meeke servant of God,

though it is possible he might be concerned in it. There is, however, as much reason for assigning also to him the history of *Henry the Sixth*, and the first part of *The whole Contention between the two famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke:* they were all three in being before Shakespeare began to write for the stage; and after he commenced his theatrical career, he re-dressed the first part of *The whole Contention*, &c., and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, which now are known by the titles of the second and third parts of *Henry VI.* It is plausibly conjectured that Shakespeare never touched the first part of *Henry VI.*, as it stands in his works, and that it is merely the old play on the early events of that reign, which was most likely written about 1589. As there is nothing to fix any of these as the property of Marlow, it is needless here to enter into any examination of them, as regards their structure or versification. What Shakespeare contributed to the second and third parts of *Henry VI.* may be seen by a comparison of them with the two old quartos reprinted by Steevens, in 1766.

'Moses, to be but a conjurer, and our sweete Saviour but a seducer and 'deceiver of the people. But harken, ye brain-sicke and prophane 'poets and players, that bewitch idle eares with foolish vanities, what 'fell upon this prophane wretch:—having a quarrell against one 'whom he met in a streete in London, and would have stab'd him; 'but the partie perceiving his villany prevented him with catching 'his hand and turning his owne dagger into his braines, and so blas-'pheming and cursing he yeelded up his stinking breath. Marke 'this, ye players, that live by making fooles laugh at sinne and 'wickednesse.'—The substance of this narrative is taken from Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments*, 1598.

Greene may possibly have had a hand in the authorship of *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, and there is a striking coincidence between a passage in that play, and another in Greene's *Alphonsus*, (not printed until 1599, although written before 1592,) which in this view may deserve notice.—Gloster, in *The True Tragedy*, &c., while stabbing Henry VI. the second time, exclaims—

'If any spark of life remain in thee,
'Down, down to hell, and say I sent thee thither.'

In Greene's *Alphonsus*, the following lines, delivered on a somewhat similar occasion, are met with.

'Go, pack thou hence unto the Stygian lake;....
'And if he ask thee who did send thee down,
'Alphonsus say, who now must wear thy crown.'

For reasons already assigned, *Lust's Dominion* is excluded from the list of Marlow's plays. It was, in fact, the work of Dekker, Haughton, and Day.

ON

ROBERT GREENE AND HIS WORKS.

Robert Greene, who died in September, 1592*, is perhaps entitled to be considered the poet who immediately followed Marlow, in his successful experiment to bring blank-verse into use on the public stage. At least it is quite certain that he attempted dramatic composition in blank-verse, prior to 1588, because he

* His fatal illness was occasioned by eating and drinking immoderately of red-herrings and Rhenish wine. In 1594 appeared a very rare collection of fourteen 'Sonnets' (as the author terms them), under the title of *Greene's Funeralls*, of which Ritson mentions only an edition in 1604, and which Mr. Park confounds with *Greene's Memorial*, at the end of Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters* &c., 1592. The initials 'R. B., Gent.,' are on the title-page, which Ritson supposes to mean Richard Barnefield; but *Greene's Funeralls* is certainly unworthy of Barnefield's pen. R. B. was a most devoted admirer of Greene, as the following lines will show:—

'For Judgement Jove, for learning deepe he still Apollo seemde;
'For floent tongue, for eloquence, men Mercury him deemde;
'For curtesie suppose him Guy, or Guyons somewhat lesse.
'His life and manners, though I would, I cannot halfe expresse:
'Nor mouth, nor mind, nor Muse can halfe declare,
'His life, his love, his laude, so excellent they were.'

It seems strange that R. B. should touch upon Greene's 'life and manners,' if he deserved the character for vice and profligacy which his enemy, Gabriel Harvey, gave of him, after Greene was dead and could not reply. The only copy of *Greene's Funeralls*, 1594, that I ever saw, is among Bishop Tanner's books at Oxford.

so asserts in the prefatory epistle to his *Perimides the Blacksmith*, which was printed in that year.

He was a poet who obtained an extraordinary reputation at a comparatively easy rate *. He was of Clare-hall Cambridge, from whence he dates the dedication of his *Mamillia* †, and he probably entered the Church: in 1584 we find a person of the name of Robert Greene, in possession of the Vicarage of Tollesbury, in Essex, and in that year he printed an enlargement and moralization upon the story of Su-

* Professor Tieck, in the Preface to his *Shakespeare's Vorschule*, says that Greene had 'a happy talent, a clear spirit, and a lively imagination,' which, he adds, 'characterise all his writings.' I can by no means concur in this praise to its full extent, for although some of his productions do display what I should rather term a lively fancy, than 'a lively imagination,' there are others that possess no recommendation of any kind, and were put forth into the world to relieve temporary necessities. By these he certainly ought not to be judged, though they ought to be taken into the account with reference to the facility with which he wrote his best pieces, and the total needlessness of study and effort, which Tieck also attributes to him.

† The earliest edition of it bears date in 1583; and by some verses signed G. B., 'in praise of the author and his booke,' which are prefixed, it is clear that it was written, if not published, before Greene left college.

'Greene is the plant, Mamillia is the flowre,
'Cambridge the plat where plant and flower growes.'

My friend, the Rev. A. Dyce, in his beautiful edition of *Greene's Works*, in two vols. 8vo., also gives the date of 1583 to the publication of the first part of Greene's *Mamillia*. See vol. I. cviii. The second part of *Mamillia* was undoubtedly first printed in 1593; and I apprehend that there may be a mistake of a figure on the title of the *first part*. Greene would hardly write the second part of the same story nearly ten years after the appearance of the first part.

sanna and the Elders, under the title of *The Mirror of Modesty* *. In 1585, he lost his preferment, but not until, consistently with his clerical character, he had published 'a Translation of a Sermon, by Pope Gregory 13th.' The printing of his *Morando, the Tritameron of Love,* in 1584, might have some connection with his loss of the Vicarage of Tollesbury. Greene then came to London, where he probably supported himself by his flowing pen, and in 1587 he was joined in the capital by his friend Thomas Nash. Greene was by birth a Norfolk man †, and Nash of Suffolk,

* The following work, in Andrew Maunsell's Catalogue, 1595, is also probably to be attributed to Greene—'Exhortation and fruitful Admonition to vertuous Parentes, and modest Matrones, to the bringing 'up of their Children in godly education and household discipline. 'By R. G. Printed for Nich. Linge, 1584, in 8vo.' It has never been hitherto mentioned in any list of Greene's productions, not even by the Rev. Mr. Dyce.

† While Thomas Lodge was on a voyage with Cavendish, Greene published *Euphues Shadow, the Battaile of the Sences,* in 1592, professing that it was the work of his 'absent friend:' the dedication is signed 'Rob. Greene, *Norfolciensis.*' It is a small tract, of extraordinary rarity, and was sold among the books of the late Mr. Bindley, for 20*l.* If not in fact by Greene himself, it is a direct imitation of his style, both in prose (of which it mainly consists) and verse (of which three pieces, in rhyme, are interspersed). The following is the best specimen:—

'*The Epitaph of Eurimone.*

'Heere lies ingravde in prime of tender age,
'Eurimone, too pearlesse in disdaine:
'Whose proud contempt no reason might asswage,
Till love, to quite all wronged lovers paine,
'Bereft her wits, when as her friend was gone,
'Who now lyes tombed in this marble stone. 'Let

and although the latter was younger than the former, they had possibly first become acquainted at Cambridge, which university Nash quitted in 1587. We may conclude that Greene's *Menaphon*, printed in 1587, and to which Nash wrote an introductory epistle, appeared early in that year, because in Greene's *Euphues, his Censure to Philautus*, of the same date, it is mentioned as already in print. Some lines by 'Thomas Brabine, Gent., in praise of the Author,' prefixed to the *Menaphon*, are of importance, as we may infer from them, that prior to 1587 Greene had attempted dramatic poetry, and having failed to a certain extent, as was alleged, published that tract in order to show that he could do something better.

'Come foorth you witts that vaunt the pompe of speach,
'And strive to thunder from a *Stageman's* throate!
'View *Menaphon*, a note beyond your reach,
'Whose sight will make your drumming descant doate.
'*Players*, avaunt! You know not to delight.
'Welcome, sweet Shepheard, worth a Scholler's sight.'

It will be remarked that this writer, speaking of the verses pronounced by players, uses precisely the same epithet which Nash employs in his prefatory epistle to *Menaphon*; Brabine talks of a 'drumming descant,' and Nash of a 'drumming decasyllabon,' both mean-

'Let Ladies learne her lewdnes to eschew,
'And whilst they live in freedome of delight,
'To take remorse, and lovers sorrowes rew,
'For why contempt is answered with despight.
'Remembering still this sentence sage and ould,
'Who will not yonge, they may not when they would.'

Lodge was by no means above the imitation of Greene, and wrote a drama in concert with him.

ing the blank-verse which Marlow had just rendered acceptable to popular audiences.

Of Greene's numerous tracts two have obtained extraordinary distinction*. Upon one of them, *Pan-*

* There is a remarkable circumstance connected with one of his prose pamphlets that has never been mentioned, *viz.*, that his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier, or a Dispute between Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches*, printed in 1592, is, in a great degree, a plagiarism from an older poem under the following title, 'The Debate between Pride and 'Lowlines pleaded to an issue in Assize; and how a Jurie with great 'indifferencie being impannelled and redy to have geven their verdict 'were straungely intercepted: no less pleasant then profitable. F. T. '&c. Seene and allowed. Imprinted at London, by John Charl-'wood, for Rafe Newbery, dwelling in Fleetstrete a litle above the 'Condite.' It has no date, but it was probably not published after the year 1580. F. T. are no doubt the initials of the author, who states himself to have been an attorney, and his correct and frequent application of law terms proves that he was so. The dispute between Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches is conducted precisely as in Greene's tract, the conclusion only being different: Greene proceeds to the delivery of the verdict, but in the poem, which was his original in other respects, the trial is interrupted by the arrival of men armed with swords and bucklers, the adherents of Velvet-breeches, who cut Cloth-breeches to pieces. The following is F. T.'s description of Velvet-breeches, a line in which will establish Greene's obligation:—

'I did perceive then what it was in deede,
'That is to weete, a goodly velvet breech,
'Which in its furniture dyd so exceede,
'As hardly shall ye finde it yf ye seech.

'For it was all of velvet very fine,
'*The neather stockes of pure Granado silke;*
'Such as came never upon legges of myne:
'Their cooller cleane contrary unto milke.

'This breech was paned in the fayrest wyse,
'And with right satten very costly lyned;
'Embrodered according to the guise,
'With golden lace full craftely engined.'

dosto, the Triumph of Time, 1588, Shakespeare founded his *Winter's Tale;* and the other, *A Groats-worth of Wit*, 1592, contains the earliest notice of our great dramatic poet, whom Greene (consistently with

Greene, describing Velvet-breeches, says of him, '*the nether stocke was of the purest Granado silke*,' which identifies the two works. The entrance of Cloth-breeches, as contained in the poem, affords another proof to the same effect—

'There came another paire, *but softer pase*,
'And never ceased rolling, tyll they came
'Into the dale and there had taken place:
'Now listen, for me thought this litle game.

'These breeches I did bound on eyther side,
'As one that was in middle them betweene:
'These last were but of cloth, withouten pride,
'And stitche ne gard upon them was to seene.

'Of cloth (I say) both upper stocke and neather,
'Paned and single lyned next the thie;
'Light for the were, meete for all sort of weather.
'Now, peradventure, you wyl thinke I lye.'

Greene, speaking of the gait of Cloth-breeches, tells us that he walked '*a softer pace*.' Greene's tract is reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany* (Park's edition, vol. v.); and it will be seen that in the prefatory matter he makes no acknowledgment that he had been at all indebted to any other work. The poem is of the greatest possible rarity, and I never heard of any other copy than that at Bridgewater House, which has escaped all notice by our poetical antiquaries. I cannot, therefore, refrain from giving one or two more brief quotations from it. The following is the description of one of the persons summoned upon the jury—

'One of them had a fiddle in his hand,
'And pleasant songes he played thereupon,
'To queynt and hard for me to understand:
'If he were brave I make no question;

'Or yf his furniture were for the daunce:
'His brecches great, full of ventositie,
'Devised in the castle of playsaunce,
'And master of a daunsing schoole was he.'

the envious spirit he displayed towards Marlow in 1588) calls 'the only Shake-scene in a country.'

Our business with Greene is as an author of plays, and it may be taken for granted that he had assumed that character before 1587. As a writer of novels, and pamphlets, he is full of affectation, but generally elegant, and sometimes eloquent: it is a misfortune which runs through his works, that he often imitated the popular but puerile allusions of Lily. His invention, is poor from the want of a vigorous imagination, but his fancy is generally lively and graceful. In facility of expression, and in the flow of his blank-verse, he is not to be placed below his contemporary Peele. His usual fault (more discover-

F. T. and Greene both describe what they saw as if it were a dream (*sweven* is the older word used by F. T.), and, waking suddenly, both determine to write down their vision. F. T. claims that his narrative will be better than many works of the time, among them *Amadis de Gaul* and *The Palace of Pleasure*.

'Better, I wys, then Amadis de Gaule,
'Or els the Pallas forced with pleasure;
'Who though they promise honny, yelden gale,
'And unto coales do turne their fained treasure;

'Or ballads that entreate of nought but love,
'Of plaints, unkindnesse, and of gelosie,
'Which are of wonderfull effectes to move
'Young people's mindes, that reade them, to folly.

'Of whiche, neverthelesse, we dayly see
'How many and how coonning are the Clarkes:
'I bidde ye not herein to credite me;
'Beleeve their writinges and their noble warkes.'

A religious turn is given to the poem in many places, and it ends with 'a prayer to almightie God.' It is in small 8vo.

able in his plays than in his poems) is an absence of simplicity; but his pedantic classical references, frequently without either taste or discretion, he had in common with the other scribbling scholars of the time. It was Shakespeare's good fortune to be in a great degree without the knowledge, and therefore, if on no other account, without the defect. In one respect Greene may be said to have the advantage of Peele: he sometimes contrives to introduce a little more variety into the rhythm of his blank-verse, although it will still be found in most instances to run with fatiguing similarity. Greene wrote five plays (besides one in conjunction with Thomas Lodge), all of which it will be necessary to notice with more or less brevity, taking them in the order in which we may conjecture they came from his pen.

The History of Orlando Furioso one of the Twelve Peers of France, was not printed until 1594*, but if not the first, it was one of Greene's earliest dramatic productions. Although Charlemaine (in the shape in which the piece has reached us) does not form one of the characters in it, yet as many of his Paladins are important personages, it is not improbable that this is the piece to which Peele alluded in 1589, when he

* Again in 1599; but Greene's name not being on the title-page it is ascertained to have been his work, by the following passage in *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592: 'Master R[obert] G[reene] would 'it not make you blush—if you sold *Orlando Furioso* to the Queen's 'players for 20 nobles, and when they were in the country sold the 'same play to Lord Admirall's men for as much more?'

mentioned it with other plays upon the stories of Mahomet, Tamerlane, and Stukely*. Henslowe notices it under date of February 21, 1591. The general tameness, sameness, and lameness, of the blank-verse renders it not unlikely that this was the very play to which Greene referred in 1588, when he said that it had been charged against him that he could not make his 'verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins.'

As far only as regards the madness of Orlando, arising out of the loves of Angelica and Medoro, the piece may be said to be founded upon Ariosto's romance, for in the end of the play, Orlando and Angelica are happily united: all the other scenes appear to have been Greene's invention, and much was inserted for the sake merely of gratifying the multitude. The poet's object seems to have been to compound a drama, which should exhibit an unusual variety of characters in the dresses of Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans, and to mix them up with as much rivalship, love, jealousy, and fighting as could be brought within the compass of five acts. How far *Orlando Furioso* was printed according to the author's copy, we have no means of deciding, but it has evidently come down to us in a very imperfect state.

* 'Bid theatres and proud tragedians,
'Bid Mahomet's Poo, and mighty Tamburlaine,
'*King Charlemaine*, Tom Stukely, and the rest,
'Adieu.'
See *Peele's Works*, by Rev. A. Dyce, 2d edition, ii. 170.

The opening consists of declarations of love for Angelica (who is made, by Greene, the daughter of 'Marsillus Emperour of Africa') by Sacripant (the Soldan), Rodamont, Mandricard (Prince of Cuba and of Mexico), Brandimart, and Orlando. With the consent of her father she prefers Orlando, and the rest vow vengeance. After some fighting, in which Orlando besieges the castle of Rodamont and drives him and Brandemart before him, Sacripant contrives a scheme to make Orlando jealous of Angelica: he hangs roundelays on the trees, by which it is made to appear that Angelica and Medoro are mutually attached. Orlando enters, and before he sees the rhymes, delivers some lines, which are certainly among the best in the whole performance, elegant in thought, and not deficient in beauty of expression. He is addressing the evening star.

'Fair Queen of love, thou mistress of delight,
'Thou gladsome lamp that wait'st on Phœbe's train,
'Spreading thy kindness through the jarring orbs,
'That in their union praise thy lasting powers;
'Thou that hast stay'd the fiery Phlegon's course,
'And mad'st the coachman of the glorious wain
'To droop in view of Daphne's excellence;
'Fair pride of morn, sweet beauty of the even,
'Look on Orlando languishing in love.
'Sweet solitary groves, whereas the nymphs
'With pleasance laugh to see the Satires play,
'Witness Orlando's faith unto his love.
'Tread she these lawns?—kind Flora, boast thy pride:
'Seek she for shades?—spread, cedars, for her sake.
'Fair Flora, make her couch amidst thy flowers.

'Sweet crystal springs,
'Wash ye with roses when she longs to drink.
'Ah thought, my heaven! Ah heaven, that knows my thought!
'Smile, joy in her that my content hath wrought*.'

The introductory passage, in which the star of Venus is invoked as the cause of the harmony of the spheres, is gracefully fancied. One line is incomplete, possibly left so purposely by the author, for the sake of relieving the ear, burdened with the recurrence of the same cadences. Orlando sees the roundelays upon the trees, goes mad, and then follows a medley of nonsense and folly, meant for the indications of insanity. The hero drives all before him with the leg of a shepherd he had slain, and, 'attired like a madman,' exclaims:—

'Woods, trees, leaves, leaves, trees, woods: *tria sequun-*
'*ter tria*. Ho! Minerva, *salve*. Good morrow, how do
'you to-day? Tell me, sweet goddess, will Jove send
'Mercury to Calypso to let me go? Will he? Why then,
'he's a gentleman every hair o'the head on him.'

Afterwards he comes in like a poet, (mad of course,) and discharges a quantity of incoherent balderdash. He subsequently breaks a fiddler's head with his own instrument, and has an interview with Ariosto's enchantress, Melissa, who gives him a draught, which restores him to his senses: then, in the habit of a

* I have here and elsewhere usually followed the text as furnished with scrupulous exactness by the Rev. A. Dyce, in his recent edition of *Greene's Works*. I wish that his author had been more worthy of his learned and tasteful labours.

common soldier, he fights with Oliver, Ogier, and the rest of the Paladins, as the champion of Angelica, whose truth he maintains. After he has overcome her slanderers, he throws off his disguise, and is united to her by Marsillus: in order to carry her in triumph to France, he says—

——————'we'll richly rig up all our fleet,
'More brave than was that gallant Grecian keel
'That brought away the Colchian fleece of gold.
'Our sails of sendal spread into the wind,
'Our ropes and tacklings, all of finest silk,
'Fetch'd from the native looms of labouring worms,
'The pride of Barbary, and the glorious wealth
'That is transported by the western bounds:
'Our stems cut out of gleaming ivory,
'Our planks and sides fram'd out of cypress wood,
'That bears the name of Cyparissus' change,
'To burst the billows of the ocean sea,
'Where Phœbus dips his amber tresses oft
'And kisses Thetis in the day's decline.'

These highly wrought and gorgeously coloured descriptions passed with Greene and his contemporaries for more than they are intrinsically worth, and in another of his plays (to which I shall next advert) he has a long speech of much the same import, where he talks of frigates—

'Stemm'd and incas'd with burnished ivory,
'And overlaid with plates of Persian wealth.'

It is not difficult to accumulate splendid objects, and to decorate them with corresponding epithets; but it is much harder to collect fine thoughts and to clothe them in appropriate language. Greene was a

considerable master of diction, but his ideas want novelty and originality.

His *Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bongay*, first published in 1594, is entitled to a considerable share of approbation. Greene seems to have been incited to undertake this subject by Marlow's *Faustus*, a drama to which, however, it is much inferior both in design and execution. Friar Bacon and Friar Bongay are only conjurers: Faustus is a mighty necromancer who, by his great intellect and deep learning, bends the fates to his will, and makes hell, earth, and heaven, for a time, subservient to his purposes. Greene's work is reprinted in the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*, as well as by the Rev. Mr. Dyce, so that any lengthened examination of it is rendered unnecessary. It was performed, according to Henslowe, as early as February 19, 1591, and, doubtless, was not then by any means a new play, so that it may have been written in 1588 or 1589. The two friars are only incidentally concerned in the plot, which chiefly relates to the love of Edward I., when Prince of Wales, for a keeper's daughter, whom he courted, first in person and afterwards by proxy, the proxy in the end supplanting his principal. There is also an underplot of two young scholars, who were in love with the same keeper's daughter, who fight and kill each other. The rest of the piece, which is full of variety, if not of interest, is made up of trials of skill between rival conjurers before Henry III., the Emperor of Germany, Elinor of Castille (whom Edward

ultimately marries), and a number of courtiers, together with some comic scenes, not without humour, in which Ralph Simnell, the king's fool, and Miles, the blundering pupil of Friar Bacon, are concerned. Just before the close (in imitation of some of the old Morals) Miles is carried off to hell on the back of one of Friar Bacon's devils*. Bacon ultimately renounces his magic art, and delivers a prophecy regarding Elizabeth, which may be quoted as a proof that Greene had not at this time much improved his versification—

'I find by deep prescience of mine art,
'Which once I temper'd in my secret cell,
'That here, where Brute did build his Troynovant,
'From forth the royal garden of a king
'Shall flourish out so rich and fair a bud,
'Whose brightness shall deface proud Phœbus' flower,
'And overshadow Albion with her leaves.
'Till then Mars shall be master of the field,
'But then the stormy threats of war shall cease:
'The horse shall stamp as careless of the pike,
'Drums shall be turn'd to timbrels of delight;
'With wealthy favours plenty shall enrich
'The strand that gladded wandering Brute to see,
'And peace from heaven shall harbour in these leaves

* This was, probably, one of the last instances in which the devil was brought upon the stage, *in propria persona*, for the edification and delight of the multitude, in London. In 1596, as Lodge tells us in his *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse*, written and published in that year, he had been banished to the country: 'They say likewise' (he observes) 'there is a Plaier Devil, a handsome sonne of Mammons, 'but yet I have not seene him, *because he skulks in the country:* if 'I chance to meet him against the next impression, he shall shift 'very cunningly but Ile pleasantlie conjure him.'

'That gorgeous beautify this matchless flower.
'Apollo's heliotropion then shall stoop,
'And Venus' hyacinth shall vail her top;
'Juno shall shut her gilliflowers up,
'And Pallas' bay shall 'bash her brightest green;
'Ceres' carnation, in consort with those,
'Shall stoop and wonder at Diana's rose.'

It is to be remarked, however, that in this piece we meet with occasional alexandrines and with the insertion of redundant syllables.

Greene's *Scottish History of James the Fourth slain at Flodden*, 1598, has many jingling lines interspersed in the blank-verse, as if at the time he wrote it the author felt the truth of the opinion that he was unequal to produce good blank-verse, or, at all events, as if he were himself better satisfied with rhyme. The story is rather a romantic fiction than a dramatised portion of history; and the words, 'slain at Flodden,' are introduced upon the title-page only to identify the king intended by the author; for the incidents do not descend as low as that memorable event. It is a singular circumstance, that the king of England, who forms one of the characters in this play, is called *Arius*, as if Greene at the time he wrote had some scruple in naming Henry VIII., on account of the danger of giving offence to the Queen and court. The title-page states that the history is 'intermixed with a pleasant comedy presented by 'Oboram, King of Fairies.' In the body of the performance he is called Aster Oberon, and he is the same person (far differently drawn) who figures in

Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The 'pleasant comedy' which he presents in *James the Fourth* consists only of dances by antics and fairies between the acts. The 'history' is supposed to be represented by a company of players before Oberon, at the instance of Bohan, 'a Stoic,' who lives in a tomb and talks broad Scotch: he has two sons, called Slipper and Nano, who are made by the Fairy King to take the parts of a clown and a dwarf.

The plot is shortly this:—James IV. falling in love with Ida, the daughter of the Countess of Arrain, puts away his Queen Dorothea in hopes to obtain her, after which the King is forsaken by Douglas and other peers, who rebel against his tyranny. Queen Dorothea, though compelled to fly from the court in male attire, persuades them to return to their allegiance. An attempt is subsequently made to assassinate Dorothea, who is left for dead; but she is not killed, and is ultimately restored to her throne and repentant husband. A main, though not very natural cause of the remorse of James IV. is his inability to compass his purpose with Ida, who at the conclusion is married to a young nobleman named Eustace, with whom she had fallen suddenly in love. The following dialogue between the Countess of Arrain and her daughter, and a good deal that succeeds it, is in rhyme—

'*Countess.* Fair Ida, might you chuse the greatest good
'Midst all the world in blessings that abound,
'Wherein, my daughter, should your liking be?
'*Ida.* Not in delights or pomp or majesty.

Count. And why?

'*Ida.* Since these are means to draw the mind
'From perfect good, and make true judgment blind.

'*Count.* Might you have wealth and fortune's richest store?

'*Ida.* Yet would I (might I chuse) be honest poor;
'For she that sits at fortune's feet alow,
'Is sure she shall not taste a farther woe;
'But those that prank on top of fortune's ball,
'Still feare a change, and fearing, catch a fall.

'*Count.* Tut, foolish maid, each one contemneth need.

'*Ida.* Good reason why—they know not good indeed.

'*Count.* Many, marry then, on whom distress doth lour.

'*Ida.* Yes, they that virtue deem an honest dower.
'Madam, by right this world I may compare
'Unto my work, wherein with heedful care
'The heavenly workman plants with curious hand,
'As I with needle draw each thing on land,
'Even as he list. Some men like to the rose
'Are fashioned fresh, some in their stalks do close,
'And born do sudden die: some are but weeds,
'And yet from them a secret good proceeds.
'I with my needle, if I please, may blot
'The fairest rose within my cambric plot:
'God with a beck can change each worldly thing,
'The poor to earth, the beggar to the king.
'What then hath man wherein he well may boast,
'Since by a beck he lives, a lour is lost?'

The resemblance is prettily made out, and the moral delicately worded: the line 'And yet from them a secret good proceeds,' reminds one of Shakespeare's 'There is some soul of goodness in things evil.' In Act ii., Ateukin, the King's parasite and favourite, is sent to court Ida on behalf of his sovereign, and

this scene is conducted in blank-verse, with the exception of occasional couplets.

'*Ateukin.* Fair, comely nymph, the beauty of your face,
'Sufficient to bewitch the heavenly powers,
'Hath wrought so much in him, that now of late
'He finds himself made captive unto love;
'And though his power and majesty require
'A straight command before an humble suit,
'Yet he his mightiness doth so abase
'As to intreat your favour, honest maid.
'*Ida.* Is he not married, Sir, unto our Queen?
'*Ateuk.* He is.
'*Ida.* And are not they by God accurst
'That sever those whom he hath knit in one?
'*Ateuk.* They be: what then? we seek not to displace
'The Princess from her seat; but since by love
'The King is made your own, he is resolv'd *
'In private to accept your dalliance,
'In spite of war, watch, or worldly eye.
'*Ida.* Oh, how he talks, as if he should not die!
'As if that God in justice once could wink
'Upon that fault I am asham'd to think.'

Here we see an instance how Greene appears to rise and improve with his rhyme; yet the blank-verse is more varied than usual with him.

In Act iv., there is a scene between the King and his parasite Ateukin, in which the latter, after the supposed assassination of Dorothea, incites the former to persevere against Ida: the King at last exclaims—

'Enough! I am confirm'd. Ateukin, come,
'Rid me of love, and rid me of my grief.

* The old copy reads '*she* is resolv'd,' which is certainly wrong.

'Drive thou the tyrant from this tainted breast,
'Then may I triumph in the height of joy.
'Go to mine Ida: tell her, that I vow
'To raise her head and make her honours great.
'Go to mine Ida: tell her, that her hairs
'Shall be embellished with orient pearls;
'And crowns of sapphires, compassing her browes,
'Shall war with those sweet beauties of her eyes.
'Go to mine Ida: tell her, that my soul
'Shall keep her semblance closed in my breast,
'And I, in touching of her milk-white mould,
'Will think me deified in such a grace.'

These lines, it will be acknowledged, are better than any others of the same kind we have yet seen by Greene: they have more passion, and the language is not ill adapted to express it.

From the obvious improvement of the style, its greater ease and diversity, we may conclude that *George-a-Green the Pinner of Wakefield*, 1599, was written by Greene not long before his death: it is a lively story, cheerfully told, and was certainly popular: it includes among its characters, the Kings of England and Scotland, and their nobility, together with Robin Hood and his merry men. George-a-Green, the hero, in various ways gets the better of all of them, no doubt to the great satisfaction of the kind of audiences before whom the 'pleasant conceited comedy' was performed. I shall not enter into the plot, because the piece has been often reprinted. It has only been ascertained to be the work of Greene within the last few years, when a copy came to light, on the title-page of which, in a hand-writing of the time

and upon the testimony of Juby the actor, it was asserted to be by Robert Greene *.

In the comic scenes, among the inferior characters, a good deal of the dialogue is in prose, although printed in disjointed lines; and in the blank-verse there is not only more ease and lightness, but generally more spirit and variety. Here too we find, what has rarely occurred in Greene's previous productions, a number of trochees at the end of the lines, which gives them additional vivacity: one short quotation will contain evidence of different improvements in style. It is from a scene, near the close, between the Kings of England and Scotland, George-a-Green, Robin Hood, and all the principal characters, who are brought together upon the stage. King Edward tells George to rise, to which he replies,

'Nay, good my liege, ill-nurtur'd we were then:
'Though we Yorkshire men be blunt of speech,
'And little skill'd in court or such quaint fashions,
'Yet nature teacheth us duty to our king;
'Therefore, I
'Humbly beseech you, pardon George-a-Green.
'*Robin-hood.* And, good my lord, a pardon for poor Robin;
'And for us all a pardon, good king Edward.
'*Shoemaker.* I pray you a pardon for the Shoemakers.
'*Edward.* I frankly grant a pardon to you all;
'And George-a-Green, give me thy hand: there is

* In the same hand-writing it is registered, that *The Pinner of Wakefield* was written by 'a Minister,' and W. Shakespeare is mentioned as the witness to the fact. Greene had been in the church, and probably he was the person meant, though a blank was left for the name. See Dyce's *Greene's Works*, i. v.

'None in England that shall do thee wrong.
'Even from my court I came to see thyself,
'And now I see that fame speaks nought but truth.
'*George.* I humbly thank your royal majesty.
'That which I did against the Earl of Kendall,
'Was * but a subject's duty to his sovereign,
'And therefore little merits such good words.'

The commencement of the piece contains an allusion to Marlow's *Tamburlaine the Great*, which of course maintained its popularity when *The Pinner of Wakefield* was written.

One of the rarest of Greene's plays is called on the title-page, *The comical History of Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, printed in 1599, and it is in many respects a singular performance: like *The Pinner of Wakefield*, it also mentions 'the mighty Tamburlaine,' who had become a common example of enterprise and bravery, and whose martial achievements Greene seems to have here imitated. It contains the story of Carinus, King of Arragon, (which the author places in Italy), and his son Alphonsus, who had been driven from their rightful possessions by a usurper named Flaminius. In the opening of the piece we find the old king and the young prince in exile: the latter soon afterwards, as a common soldier, enters the army of Belinus, King of Naples, who was then defending his territory against the invasion of Flami-

* The old copy, and Mr. Dyce following it, read 'It was,' &c., but *it* is redundant in sense and metre. I have also ventured to regulate the lines somewhat differently than he has given them: the word 'England' is to be pronounced as a trisyllable.

nius. Belinus promises Alphonsus that he shall possess whatever his sword conquers, and in the first battle he kills the usurper, and claims the kingdom of Arragon, which Belinus, as by contract bound, bestows upon him. Thus seated on the throne of Arragon, Alphonsus demands the submission of Belinus, his benefactor, as a vassal; and the latter, not submitting, is warred upon and subdued, together with his ally, the Duke of Milan. Alphonsus gives away the kingdom of Naples, the dukedom of Milan, and even his own crown of Arragon to three of his chief followers, determining himself to attack Amurack, the Sultan of Turkey, (to whom Belinus had fled,) and to seat himself on the throne of the Mahometan empire. He succeeds, and finally marries Iphigina, the daughter of Amurack, who is content, after a long struggle, to yield the sovereignty to his Christian son-in-law.

These are the main incidents, and from the first act to the last, (for it is regularly divided into acts, though the scenes are not marked,) it is full of bustle and battles—Christians of various kingdoms, Turks, and Amazons (for an army of female warriors is brought into the field on behalf of Amurack) fill the stage; and independent of any interest for the principal characters, which is inconsiderable, it must have been a striking spectacle. Medea is also introduced to work enchantments, and, at the instigation of Fausta, the wife of Amurack, she raises Homer's Calchas, and makes him prophesy of the result of the contest between Alphonsus and Amurack.

The blank-verse has little force or variety, though

sufficiently easy and flowing, and Greene has here rarely assisted himself by the insertion of rhyming couplets. The following is the prologue of Venus, who, lamenting the deficiency of poets, undertakes to write the piece herself; and for this purpose, after she has delivered her prologue, departs with Calliope and the rest of the Muses (who had entered playing upon instruments) to Parnassus—

'Poets are scarce, when Goddesses themselves
'Are forced to leave their high and stately seats,
'Placed on the top of high Olympus mount,
'To seeke them out to pen their champions praise.
'The time hath been when Homer's sugar'd muse
'Did make each echo to repeate his verse,
'That every coward that durst crack a spear
'And tilt and turney for his lady's sake,
'Was painted out in colours of such price
'As might become the proudest potentate:
'But now-a-days, so irksome idless' slights,
'And cursed charms have witch'd each student's mind,
'That death it is to any of them all,
'If that their hands to penning you do call.
'Oh Virgil, Virgil, wert thou now alive,
'Whose painful pen in stout Augustus' days
'Did 'dain to let the base and silly fly
'To scape away without thy praise of her,
'I do not doubt but long or ere this time,
'Alphonsus' fame unto the heavens should climb;
'Alphonsus' fame, that man of Jove his seed,
'Sprung from the loins of the immortal Gods,
'Whose sire, although he habit on the earth,
'May claim a portion in the fiery pole
'As well as any one, whate'er he be.
'But setting by Alphonsus' power divine,

'What man alive, or now amongst the ghosts,
'Could countervail his courage and his strength?
'But thou art dead, yea, Virgil, thou art gone,
'And all his acts drown'd in oblivion.
'No, Venus, no, though poets prove unkind,
'And loth to stand in penning of his deeds,
'Yet rather than they shall be clean forgot,
'I, which was wont to follow Cupid's games,
'Will put in ure Minerva's sacred art;
'And this my hand, which used for to pen
'The praise of Love and Cupid's peerless power,
'Will now begin to treat of bloody Mars,
'Of doughty deeds and valiant victories.'

The choruses Venus delivers between the acts are sometimes necessary to the due understanding of the plot, which proceeds with great rapidity, the action changing suddenly from Italy to Turkey, and from Turkey again to Italy.

The scene of enchantment, in which Medea raises Calchas, presents nothing so remarkable as the curious fact that the Greek seer was dressed 'in a white surplice and a cardinal's mitre.' The enchantress thus invokes him—

'Thou which wert wont in Agamemnon's days
'To utter forth Apollo's oracles
'At sacred Delphos, Calchas I do mean,
'I charge thee come, all lingering set aside,
'Unless the penance you thereof abide.
'I conjure thee by Pluto's loathsome lake,
'By all the hags which harbour in the same,
'By stinking Styx and filthy Phlegethon,
'To come with speed, and truly to fulfil
'That which Medea to thee straight shall will.'

Throughout there is the usual abundance of classical allusion without propriety, as in the following instance, where Amuracke is made, in the true Turkish spirit of the time, to threaten Mahomet himself, for having disappointed him.

'Oh, Dædalus, and wert thou now alive,
'To fasten wings upon high Amuracke,
'Mahound should know, and that for certainty,
'That Turkish kings can brook no injury.'

It is evident, from the last lines put into the mouth of Venus in the Epilogue, that Greene meant to write a second part to this performance; but whether he were deterred by its want of popularity, or prevented by the suddenness of his death, must be matter of mere speculation. She thus addresses the Muses, from whom she was about to depart for Olympus.

'Mean time, dear Muses, wander you not far
'Forth of the path of high Parnassus' hill;
'That when I come to finish up his life,
'You may be ready for to succour me.
'Adieu, dear dames; farewell, Calliope.'

Possibly the continuation has perished.

In *The Looking-Glass for London and England*, 1594, Greene had a coadjutor in the celebrated Thomas Lodge, and I shall speak of that production when I remark upon the separate performances of the latter.

ON

JOHN LYLY AND HIS WORKS.

JOHN LYLY was an ingenious scholar, with some fancy; but if poetry be the heightened expression of natural sentiments and impressions, he has little title to the rank of a poet. His thoughts and his language are usually equally artificial, the results of labour and study; and in scarcely a single instance does he seem to have yielded to the impulses of genuine feeling.

He is therefore to be placed in a rank inferior to most of his contemporaries; but it is not to be forgotten that, strictly speaking, some writers with whom he may have been compared, were not his contemporaries: he began to write a little before them, and he was the inventor of a style which, however factitious, had the recommendations of refinement and novelty *. Lyly became so fashionable, that better pens, as in the case of Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, followed his example, and became his imitators. The chief characteristic of his style, besides its smoothness, is

* It was called *Euphuism*, from his work *Euphues the Anatomy of Wit*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1578, and was no doubt published early in 1579. Malone (see Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 188) had a copy dated 1579, which he supposed to be the second edition, the first being without the insertion of the year on the title-page.

the employment of a species of fabulous or unnatural natural philosophy, in which the existence of certain animals, vegetables, and minerals with peculiar properties is presumed, in order to afford similes and illustrations. Malone contends that Lyly's plays, compared with his pamphlets, are free from these affected allusions, and that three of them are quite of a different character; but he seems to have been only superficially read in Lyly's works, and among the proofs of his want of an exact acquaintance with them, may be noticed his statement that *Galathea* was one of the comedies he produced in 1584*, when, in fact, the '*annus mirabilis*' of 1588 is twice mentioned in it. In the employment of this fabulous natural history nearly all Lyly's dramatic productions may be placed upon an equality; and if such frequent resort be not had to it in his plays as in his tracts, it seems only because allusions of the kind could not be so conveniently made in dialogues between the persons concerned. It is astonishing how Malone could have brought himself to the conclusion, that Lyly 'unquestionably makes a nearer approach to a just de-'lineation of character and life,' than any dramatist who preceded Shakespeare: seven of his plays are merely mythological or pastoral, and were never meant for representations of 'character and life;' and although the scene of *Mother Bombie* is laid near Rochester, the names of nearly all the persons are

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 192.

classical, and no attempt is made to depict by them the manners of the time. *Alexander and Campaspe* is Lyly's only piece which has any pretension to the delineation of character, and then chiefly in the part of Diogenes, whom the author has drawn sufficiently cynical.

Lyly was born in Kent, in 1554, and was matriculated at Oxford in 1571, when it was recorded in the entry, that he was seventeen years old. It is a circumstance connected with his early life, mentioned in the 'Annals of the Stage,' that on the 16th May, 1574, he wrote to Lord Burghley (whom he terms *patronus colendissimus*) a Latin letter, in a good style, and a beautiful specimen of penmanship, which was thus indorsed, probably by his lordship's secretary: 'John Lilie, a Scholar of Oxford, an Epistle for the Queen's letters to Magdalen College to admit him a fellow.' The Lord Treasurer is there addressed in a strain of extravagant hyperbole, and the epistle is directed—*Viro illustrissimo, et insignissimo Heroi, domino Burgleo**. We are without evidence as to the result of this application, but Lyly having been made Bachelor of Arts in 1573, proceeded Master of Arts in 1575-6. He produced his *Euphues* early in 1579, and from the prefatory matter to it we learn that he had previously been rusticated from Oxford, for what he calls 'glancing at some abuses:' perhaps he supplied his necessities, even at this date, by writing for the stage, although his earliest

* It is among the Lansdown MSS. No. xix. Art. 16.

printed works, *Sapho and Phuo*, and *Alexander and Campaspe* did not appear until four or five years afterwards. One of his first patrons was the Earl of Oxford, himself a writer of verses; but, in July, 1582, Lyly seems to have lost the favour of that nobleman: this circumstance is stated in a letter which Lyly wrote upon the occasion to Lord Burghley, in which he protests his innocence from all just imputation. In what capacity he served Lord Oxford is not mentioned, but it may be gathered from the terms of the letter, that he occupied a place of pecuniary trust, which he was supposed to have abused.

Lyly had certainly produced six dramatic pieces prior to 1589, including *Galathea*, which, for a reason already given, may perhaps be given to that year. In *Midas*, printed in 1592, and in *Mother Bombie*, printed in 1594, he seems to allude to a tract he had published in 1589, *Pap with a Hatchet*, which was written against Martin Mar-prelate, and is so lively a piece of satirical bantering as to afford some evidence that this was the style to which Lyly's talents naturally tended*. Lyly was at one time a candidate for the office of Master of the Revels: when he died we have

* It was published without date, and Reed erroneously states, in *Dodsley's Old Plays*, ii., 99, last edit., that it appeared in 1593. It must have been printed before 1590, as it is particularly mentioned by Nash in the first part of *Pasquil's Apologie*, 1590:—'I warrant you 'the cunning *Pap-maker* knew what he did when he made choice of 'no other spoon than a *hatchet* for such a mouth, no other lace than a 'halter for such a necke.' Nash again praises the performance in his *Almond for a Parrot*, n. d.

no information, but there is reason to think that he lived into the seventeenth century. His last, and unquestionably his worst play was published in 1601.

Of all Lyly's dramas it is to be observed, that they seem to have been written for court entertainments, although they were also performed at theatres, most usually by the Children of St. Paul's and the Revels. Including *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, of which there is no sufficient reason to deprive him, (unless that it is better in some respects than his other plays,) Lyly wrote nine dramatic pieces—seven in prose, one in rhyme, and one in blank-verse. I shall notice them in the order in which, judging from external and internal evidence, (into which we have not space to enter) it may be presumed that they were produced.

Alexander and Campaspe (twice printed, in 1584, and 1591) has some claim to be considered in the light of an historical play. Although we learn from the prologue at the Blackfriars theatre, (where it was acted after it had been represented at court) that it had been written in haste for the particular occasion, it is certainly one of the best of Lyly's productions, and the force and distinctness with which Diogenes is drawn has already been praised. Some interest is also felt for Apelles, who had fallen in love with Campaspe, while employed by Alexander to paint her picture. The time is just after the siege and conquest of Thebes, and Timoclea is brought in a prisoner in the first act: she is soon dismissed, and Campaspe (who also becomes enamoured of Apelles) is the only female

afterwards introduced. The main plot is varied by the introduction of some of the Grecian sages and philosophers, especially Diogenes, to whom Alexander pays two visits, both of which are characteristically conducted: three boys, attendants upon Plato, Diogenes, (who rather inconsistently keeps a servant in his tub,) and Apelles, have also some colloquies; and it will be remarked hereafter, that as Lyly wrote for performance by children, he has scarcely a play in which idle mischievous boys are not employed to make sport rather than to advance the plot. It is not necessary to quote from this prose drama, because it is inserted in all the editions of *Dodsley's Old Plays* *, and because I shall have occasion to make extracts from others of the same species that have not been reprinted. I may, however, notice a slight coincidence, not hitherto pointed out, between a passage in *Alexander and Campaspe* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Apelles, just before he sings that elegant fancy, selected by Ellis in his *Specimens* †, soliloquising on the impossibility of attaining his desires, observes in a euphuistic strain, 'Yes, yes, Apelles; thou mayst swim against the 'stream with the crab, and feed against the wind with 'the deer, and peck against the steel with the cocka-'trice: *stars are to be looked at, not reached at.*' In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Act iii. Sc. 1) the Duke, having discovered Valentine's letter, asks him—

* Last edit. Vol. ii. p. 95.

† Vol. ii. p. 243, edit. 1811.

'Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee?'

Sapho and Phao (printed in 1584) is full of affected allusions and figures, derived from imaginary physiology: they occur in almost every scene, and the dialogue consists very much of jingle and conceit. The action lies in Syracuse, and the story relates to the love of Sapho, the Queen of that city, for Phao the waterman, whom Venus, for his courteous demeanour in ferrying her across the river, renders surpassingly beautiful. It was, like Lyly's other plays, acted before the Queen; yet it is remarkable for some severe satire upon women, for their loquacity, vanity, and fickleness. Men, however, come in for their share also; and the following ridicule of the manners of abashed lovers is not unhappy: 'It is good' (says Mileta, one of the female characters, of which there are no less than eleven, including a Sybil) 'to see them want 'matter, for then they fall to good manners, having 'nothing in their mouths but sweet mistress, wearing 'our hands out with courtly kissings, when their wits 'fail in courtly discourses; now ruffling their hairs, 'now setting their ruffs; then gazing with their eyes, 'then sighing, with a privy wring by the hand, thinking 'us like to be wooed by signs and ceremonies.' The best things said in the play are put into the mouth of this lively lady, who, in a different style, thus prettily describes the harmony of two accordant hearts: 'Such 'is the tying of two in wedlock, as is the tuning of 'two lutes in one key; for, striking the strings of the 'one, straws will stir upon the strings of the other;

'and in two minds linked in love, one cannot be de-'lighted but the other rejoiceth.' The style in which love is made may be judged from the following punning extract from a dialogue between Phao and Sapho, who is dying for him, in Act iii., Scene 1.

'*Sapho.* ——— Why do you sigh so, Phao?

'*Phao.* It is mine use, madam.

'*Sapho.* It will do you harm and me too; for I never 'hear one sigh but I must sigh also.

'*Phao.* It were best then that your Ladiship give me 'leave to begone, for I can but sigh.

'*Sapho.* Nay, stay; for now I begin to sigh, I shall not 'leave though you be gone. But what do you think best 'for your sighing, to take it away?

'*Phao. Yew*, madam.

'*Sapho.* Me?

'*Phao.* No, madam, yew of the tree.

'*Sapho.* Then I will love *yew* the better; and indeed I 'think it would make me sleep too: therefore, all other 'simples set aside, I will simply use only *yew*.

'*Phao.* Do, madam, for I think nothing in the world so 'good as *yew*.'

The comic scenes between the roguish pages are absurd, but seldom laughable.

The author exerted his fancy to introduce as much variety as possible into *Endymion* (printed in 1591), which is a mythological subject, and of course treats of the loves of Cynthia and Endymion. Although he makes Cynthia desperately enamoured, Lyly contrives, without the exercise of much ingenuity, to represent Queen Elizabeth as his heroine: for this purpose, towards the close, he converts the ardent passion of the

hero into awful reverence, and he breaks out in one place, 'There hath none pleased my eye but Cynthia '—none delighted mine ears but Cynthia—none pos-'sessed my heart but Cynthia. I have forsaken all 'other fortunes to follow Cynthia; and here I stand, 'ready to die if it please Cynthia. Such a difference 'hath the gods set between our states, that all must 'be duty, loyalty, and reverence, nothing (without it 'vouchsafe your Highness) be termed love.' The poet is here, as it were, speaking in his own person, as well as when afterwards he tells Cynthia that 'the balance that weighs time and fortune' is committed to her hands. Dumb shows, and the dances of fairies, are employed to give novelty to the scene; but here the author has again lamentably failed in the comic portion of the piece, and has introduced a foolish character, called Sir Thopas, who arms himself *cap-a-pie* against birds and fishes, and returns conqueror of a wren.

The scene of *Galathea* (printed in 1592) is most preposterously laid in the north of Lincolnshire, but, nevertheless, it is certainly the best of Lyly's prose dramas. It opens with a narrative by Tityrus to his daughter Galathea, that Neptune had once overflowed the country, enraged because the Danes had destroyed one of his temples; but that he had afterwards consented to withdraw his waters, on condition that, at the end of every five years, the fairest and chastest virgin of the land should be bound to a particular tree and offered to Neptune, who sent from his waves the mon-

ster Agar, to bring her to him, or to devour her. Tityrus has, therefore, dressed up his beautiful daughter in male attire, that she may escape this horrible death, while Melibœus (also a Lincolnshire peasant) has taken the same precaution to secure his daughter Phillida: these two, wandering into the woods, and not knowing each other, fall in love, each supposing the other to be a youth, and their courtship is conducted very prettily. In the mean time, Cupid flies among the Nymphs of Diana, and inspires some of them with ardent passions for the disguised Galathea and Phillida, while others seize and bind the little god. The sacrifice to Neptune then takes place, and, in default of a better, a virgin named Hebe is offered; but as she is not the fairest, she is rejected by the angry sea-god. This occasions delay while another is sought, and Venus complains to Neptune of the cruelty and imprisonment to which Cupid had been exposed; and in the end Neptune foregoes his sacrifice of a virgin (of course dear to Diana), on condition that Cupid should be released. The difficulty arising out of the mutual affection of Galathea and Phillida is overcome by Venus undertaking to change the sex of one of them. The following is part of the courtship between Galathea and Phillida, neither knowing the real sex of the other, nor daring to confess it themselves.

'*Phillida.* It is pity that nature framed you not a wo-
'man, having a face so fair, so lovely a countenance, so
'modest a behaviour.

'*Galathea.* There is a tree in Tylos whose nuts have
'shells like fire and, being cracked, the kernel is but water.

'*Phillida.* What a toy is it to tell me of that tree, being 'nothing to the purpose! I say it is pity you are not a 'woman.

'*Galathea.* I would not wish to be a woman, unless it 'were because thou art a man.

'*Phillida.* Nay, I do not wish to be a woman, for then 'I should not love thee, for I have sworn never to love a 'woman.

'*Galathea.* A strange humour in so pretty a youth, and 'according to mine; for myself will never love a woman.

'*Phillida.* It were a shame if a maiden should be a 'suitor (a thing hated in that sex), and thou shouldst deny 'to be her servant.....

'*Galathea.* What dread riseth in my mind! I fear the 'boy to be, as I am, a maiden.

'*Phillida.* Tush! It cannot be: his voice shows the 'contrary.

'*Galathea.* Yet I do not think it, for he would then 'have blushed.

'*Phillida.* Have you ever a sister?

'*Galathea.* If I had but one, my brother must needs 'have two. But, I pray, have you ever a one?

'*Phillida.* My father had but one daughter, and there-'fore I could have no sister.

'*Galathea.* Aye me! he is as I am, for his speeches be 'as mine are.

'*Phillida.* What shall I do? either he is subtle or my 'sex simple.'

The comic portion of the piece has not the slightest connexion with the rest of it, and consists chiefly of scenes between an Alchymist and an Astronomer, who, in succession, hire the same roguish servant. A dance by fairies is also introduced into this court entertainment.

The story of *Midas* (printed in 1592), including his subsequent decision between Apollo and Pan, needs no explanation. By the prologue we learn that in this form it was a union of several pieces: 'what 'heretofore hath been served in several dishes for a 'feast is now minced in a charger for a gallimaufry;' so that the author does not speak very respectfully of his work, nor does it deserve much praise. In one particular it merits notice, viz., that some of the comic scenes, between two sprightly lacqueys and a waiting-maid, are considerably better than those which relate to Midas, and superior perhaps to any others of the same description in Lyly's other works. It may be necessary therefore to add a short specimen, with some pretensions to be thought lively without buffoonery.

'*Licio.* But soft: here comes Pipenetta—What news?

'*Pipenetta.* I would not be in your coats for anything.

'*Licio.* Indeed, if thou shouldst rig up and down in 'our jackets, thou wouldst be thought a very tomboy.

'*Pipenetta.* I mean I would not be in your cases.

'*Petulus.* Neither shalt thou, Pipenetta; for first they 'are too little for thy body, and then too fair to pull over 'so foul a skin.

'*Pipenetta.* These boys be drunk. I would not be in 'your takings.

'*Licio.* I think so, for we take nothing in our hands 'but weapons: it is for thee to use needles and pins— 'a sampler, not a buckler.

'*Pipenetta.* Nay, then, we shall never have done—I 'mean I would not be so curst * as you shall be.

* The humour of the answer of Petulus depends upon taking *curst* for *coursed.*

'*Petulus.* Worse and worse: we are no chase, (pretty 'mopsy,) for deer we are not, neither red nor fallow, be-'cause we are bachelors and have not *cornucopia*: we 'want heads. Hares we cannot be, because they are 'male one year and the next female: we change not our 'sex. Badgers we are not, for our legs are one as long as 'another; and who will take us to be foxes, that stand so 'near a goose and bite not?

'*Pipenetta.* Fools you are, and therefore good game for 'wise men to hunt. My mistress would rise, and 'lacks your worship to fetch her hair.

'*Petulus.* Why, is it not on her head?

'*Pipenetta.* Methinks it should; but I mean the hair 'that she must wear to-day.

'*Licio.* Why, doth she wear any but her own?

'*Pipenetta.* In faith, Sir, no: I am sure it is her own 'when she pays for it.'

The plot of *Mother Bombie* (printed in 1594) relates principally to two fathers, one of whom has a foolish son, and the other a silly daughter, but neither of them knowing that the offspring of the other is half-witted. The object of the two old men is to impose their children upon each other, and this absurd scheme is absurdly enough conducted without wit or drollery. Mother Bombie, 'the cunning woman of Rochester,' is resorted to by various parties for information as to future events, and hence the title of the production. The only portion at all amusing is a scene between some mischievous pages and a hackneyman, who had lent one of them a horse: the description of the animal, which, among other perfections, 'was so obedient that he would do 'duty every minute on his knees, as though every

'stone had been his father,' seems imitated, in some degree, from Berni's praise of a mule that had been lent to him by a friend, beginning—

'*Dal piu profondo e tenebroso centro**,' &c.,

and would show, as was most probable, that Lyly was acquainted with the Italian poets.

A passage in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (attributed to Lyly, and printed anonymously in 1600) was imitated from Spenser's *Fairy Queen*. This production is a pretty pastoral, chiefly in rhyme, some of the comic scenes between shepherd-boys and the page of a courtier being the only part of the performance in prose. Philander and Orestes are employed to carry away and murder Eurymene, a beautiful virgin of low parentage, with whom Ascanio, the king's son, had fallen desperately in love. They take compassion upon her, and leave her in a wood, where a forester and a shepherd fall in love with her. She is followed by the prince, but is sought in vain; and he exclaims in his despair—

'Adorned with the presence of my love,
'The woods, I fear, such secret power shall prove,
'As they'll shut up each path, hide every way,
'Because they still would have her go astray,
'And in that place would always have her seen,
'Only because they would be ever green,
'And keep the winged choristers still there
'To banish winter clean out of the year.'

Some pleasing variety is then given to the scene by

* *Rime Piacevoli del Berni, Copetta, Francesi*, &c., edit. Vicenza, 1609, vol. ii. fol. 4 b.

the intervention of Juno, Iris, and Somnus, who produce for Ascanio a vision of Eurymene, after which the fairies are introduced, singing and dancing—

'By the moon we sport and play,
'With the night begins our day:
'As we dance the dew doth fall.
'Trip it, little urchins all,
'Lightly as the little bee,
'Two by two, and three by three,
'And about go we, and about go we.'

Fairies, as has been seen, are several times employed in Lyly's plays, but this is the first time he has made them vocal—

'*First Fairy.* I do come about the copse,
'Leaping upon flowers' tops:
'Then I get upon a fly,
'She carries me above the sky;
'And trip and go.
'*Sec. Fairy.* When a dew-drop falleth down,
'And doth light upon my crown,
'Then I shake my head and skip;
'And about I trip.
'*Third Fairy.* When I feel a girl asleep,
'Underneath her frock I peep,
'There to sport, and there I play,
'And I bite her like a flea;
'And about I skip.'

The title of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is derived from this circumstance:—Apollo falls in love with Eurymene, and boasts his power as a god: she calls upon him to prove it by changing her sex, and he complies, and is caught in the trap. Eurymene has

afterwards reason to regret her metamorphosis; and the Muses, at the instance of Arimanthus, a wizard, (and who turns out to be the father of Eurymene, and a banished nobleman,) induce Apollo to relent, and to restore the lady to her sex, after which she is united to Ascanio. It is in the following description of the spring, near which the Graces and Muses inhabit, that the imitation of Spenser is found—

'Then in these verdant fields, all richly dyed
'With nature's gifts and Flora's painted pride,
'There is a goodly spring, whose crystal streams,
'Beset with myrtles, keep back Phœbus' beams:
'There in rich seats, all wrought of ivory,
'The Graces sit, listening the melody.
'The warbling birds do from their pretty bills
'Unite in concord as the brook distils,
'Whose gentle murmur, with his buzzing notes,
'Is as a base unto their hollow throats *.
'Garlands beside they wear upon their brows,
'Made of all sorts of flowers earth allows,
'From whence such fragrant sweet perfumes arise,
'As you would swear that place is Paradise.'

In the piece last noticed, Lyly introduced some blank-verses; but his *Woman in the Moon* (printed in 1597), with the exception of a few couplets, is entirely in that form of composition: it is, however, the blank-verse of a person accustomed to rhyme.

* Fairy Queen, B. II., c. xii., st. 71. With reference to the four lines beginning 'The warbling birds,' &c., it is, however, but fair to remember, that Spenser himself followed Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* xvi. 12.)

Vezzosi augelli infra le verdi fronde, &c.

and Lyly possibly resorted to the same original.

Nature, in order to satisfy the desires of certain Utopian Shepherds, who had no women among them, gives life to the statue of Pandora, bestowing upon her all gifts: the envious planets descend, and declare that in turn they will employ their influence to injure the workmanship of Nature. Saturn first renders Pandora ill-tempered, Jupiter ambitious, Mars quarrelsome, Sol poetical, Venus amorous, &c. Pandora falls in love with every man she meets, and, though married to Stesias, makes secret appointments with three different shepherds. One of them, named Iphicles, in his transport, tells her:—

'Will me to dive for pearl into the sea,
'To fetch the feathers of the Arabian bird,
'The golden apples from the Hesperian wood,
'Mermaid's glass, Flora's habiliments,
'So may I have Pandora for my love.
'*Pand.* He that would do all this must love me well.
'And why should he love me and I not him?
'Wilt thou, for my sake, go into yon grove,
'And we will sing unto the wild birds' notes,
'And be as pleasant as the western wind,
'That kisses flowers, and wantons with their leaves?'

The reign of Mercury commences next, and he renders Pandora cunning, thievish, fraudful, and eloquent; and she soon steals all her husband's jewels. Luna makes her fickle, new-fangled, and finally insane, and all her lovers discover her falsehood. Iphicles declares,

'Had she been constant unto Iphicles,
'I would have clad her in sweet Flora's robes,
'Have set Diana's garland on her head,

'Made her sole mistress of my wanton flock,
'And sung in honour of her deity,
'Where now with tears I curse Pandora's name.'

And Learchus, another shepherd, says:

'The springs that smil'd to see Pandora's face,
'And leapt above the banks to touch her lips;
'The proud plains dancing with Pandora's weight,
'The jocund trees that vail'd when she came near,
'And in the murmur of their whispering leaves
'Did seem to say, Pandora is our queen;
'Witness how fair and beautiful she was;
'But now, alone, how false and treacherous.'

Her husband being about to kill Pandora, Nature enters, and declares that she shall no longer remain on earth, but be placed in the orb of one of the planets: choice being allowed to Pandora, she prefers the Moon. Her constant attendant, Gunophilus, is turned into a hawthorn-bush, which Stesias tears up and carries at his back: thus he becomes the man, and she 'the woman in the moon.'

Love's Metamorphosis (printed in 1601) was probably the work of Lyly at an advanced period of life, and it has not the recommendation of the ordinary, though affected graces of his style. The plot is merely this:—Three Foresters are in love with three cruel Nymphs of Ceres: they complain to Cupid, and he changes the Nymphs, one into a rock, another into a flower, and the third into a bird of Paradise. A rich farmer having cut down the favourite tree of Ceres, containing the enchanted form of Fidele, the goddess punishes him with poverty and famine, and to obtain

sustenance he sells his daughter. Ceres then remonstrates with Cupid on the wrong done to her three Nymphs, and he agrees to restore them to their shapes, if Ceres will again render the farmer wealthy and happy. Cupid's interest, on behalf of the farmer, arises out of the faithful attachment of his daughter to a youth whose affections, for a time, had been ensnared by a Syren. The whole is in prose, of which the following, where Nisa speaks of Cupid, is one of the best specimens:—

'No, but I have heard him described at the full, and, as 'I imagined, foolishly: first, that he should be a god blind 'and naked, with wings, with bow, with arrows, with fire-'brands; swimming sometimes in the sea, and playing 'sometimes on the shore; with many other devices which 'the Painters, being the Poets' apes, have taken as great 'pains to shadow as they to lie. Can I think that gods, 'who command all things, would go naked? What should 'he do with wings that knows not where to fly; or he with 'arrows that sees not how to aim?'

Although the name of John Lyly is upon the title-page, it may be doubted whether he had any hand in it, as it is so decidedly inferior to his other productions.

ON

GEORGE PEELE AND HIS WORKS.

When Thomas Nash, in 1587, gave Peele the praise of being *primus verborum artifex*, he adopted a phrase which seems happily to describe the character of Peele's poetry: his genius was not bold and original, and he was wanting in the higher qualities of invention; but he had an elegance of fancy, a gracefulness of expression, and a melody of versification, which, in the earlier part of his career, was scarcely approached. In applauding Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, in 1587, Nash wished to bring Marlow's *Tamburlaine* into discredit, because Marlow had, perhaps, in some manner given offence to Greene, with whom Nash was on terms of friendship and intimacy. To this circumstance we must attribute the rather extravagant and hyperbolical terms Nash employs on the occasion, although it is certain that at the time *The Arraignment of Paris* was printed, nothing of the kind, equal to it, had appeared in our language. As Peele's first extant production, it will be necessary to notice it before we proceed to his other dramatic works: all of them may be dismissed with the greater brevity, because they have been recently twice reprinted by the Rev. A. Dyce *.

* In two beautiful post 8vo. volumes. The edition I have used is the second, of 1829, which, in several important particulars, is an improvement upon the first impression of 1828.

The Arraignment of Paris was a Court show, represented before Elizabeth by the children of her chapel, perhaps in the year in which it was printed anonymously, 1584. Its author was then a young man, who had only recently left Christ-church, Oxford; and the piece shows that he had a more correct taste than usually belongs to so early a period of life. It also evinces much facility in the use of the English language: in point of invention it does not deserve any extraordinary degree of praise, since Peele has done little more than dramatize and put into agreeable and flowing verse the apologue of the Judgment of Paris: it derives the title of 'The Arraignment of Paris,' from the circumstance, that towards the close the Trojan shepherd is brought to trial before Jove for having adjudged the apple of discord to Venus. The defence made by Paris, the description of Queen Elizabeth by Diana, and some other small portions, are in blank-verse, which does not militate against the position I have endeavoured to support elsewhere, that Marlow was the first of our poets who wrote blank-verse for the public stage: *The Arraignment of Paris* was merely a private entertainment in the palace. At this period Lyly was the fashionable Court-poet; and notwithstanding the extravagance of the compliment paid to the Queen at the end, where the apple is adjudged to her, it does not appear that Peele was ever again called upon to furnish a dramatic entertainment of the kind.

Rhyme for the purposes of the drama was only used

by Peele systematically in this single instance; and as it possesses no very peculiar claims to admiration, I shall not think it necessary to quote any specimen. As an early writer of dramatic blank-verse, it is necessary to examine his plays with a little more attention, although he did not adopt it in those which were publicly performed until after the adventurous muse of Marlow had led the way. How Peele wrote it for the court in 1584, about two years before Marlow's *Tamburlaine* was acted, may be seen by the subsequent extract from his *Arraignment of Paris*. It is part of the 'oration' of the hero in his own defence, before Jupiter and the Immortals assembled in the Bower of Diana.

'And if, in verdict of their forms divine,
'My dazzled eye did swerve or surfeit more
'On Venus' face than any face of theirs,
'It was no partial fault, but fault of his,
'Belike, whose eyesight not so perfect was,
'As might discern the brightness of the rest.
'And if it were permitted unto men,
'Ye Gods! to parley with your secret thoughts,
'There be that sit upon that sacred seat
'That would with Paris err in Venus' praise.
'But let me cease to speak of error here;
'Sith what my hand, the organ of my heart,
'Did give with good agreement of mine eye,
'My tongue is void [bold?] with process to maintain.'

Here it will be remarked that nearly every line is formed alike, and the terminations, if not all monosyllables, are so for the purposes of the verse, which runs with all the regularity and formality of rhyme: it is, in

fact, the blank-verse of a person accustomed to write rhyme, and whose ear required a ponderous syllable at the end of each line as a substitute. This remark will, in fact, apply to nearly all the blank-verse that Peele has left behind him: he rarely varies his lines even by the insertion of a trochee for its termination, and then only as if he used it because it could not be avoided without inconvenience. He seems, in fact, for some time to have deemed this great ornament a defect; and even in his historical play, *Edward I.*, of which I shall say more presently, he has been comparatively sparing in the adoption of it.

Of the plays of Peele written for public representation, I take *The Battle of Alcazar* to be the oldest. The proofs adduced to establish the authorship of Peele are so supported by internal evidence, that I feel no hesitation in assigning it to him*. It was written, as far as we can now decide, soon after Marlow's *Tamburlaine*, the success of which encouraged Peele to make an attempt of the same kind, and from which it contains a quotation. Peele himself speaks of *The Battle of Alcazar* in a poem he published in 1589†, and it is known to have been acted in 1591, if not earlier. When it was written, the history of the adventurer Thomas Stukely, who fell in the battle of Alcazar on

'Monday, the fourth of August seventy eight,'

* See Peele's Works, by the Rev. A. Dyce, i. xxvii. edit. 1829.

† A Farewell, entituled to, &c., Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, anno 1589. Stukely was also the hero of a later play.

(as Peele gives the date from the mouth of the hero himself) was well remembered; and he no doubt took the story because it was likely to be popular, because he could abuse the Catholics and compliment Elizabeth, and because it afforded the opportunity of introducing a vast deal of business in the action, and variety in the characters. The plot is conducted with unbounded licence, and the scene is changed from Portugal to Africa, and *vice versa*, at the pleasure and convenience of the author. It is written in an ambitious strain, not very well maintained, as if the writer wished to rival the vigour without the fire and imagination of Marlow. Undoubtedly the best lines in the piece are some which were meant to flatter the Queen and her government; but, though harmonious, they give us the idea of labour, and of pumping up on the part of the author to say something fine without attaining his object. The following are some of them—

'Sacred, imperial, and holy is her seat,
'Shining with wisdom, love, and mightiness.
'Nature, that everything imperfect made,
'Fortune, that never yet was constant found,
'Time, that defaceth every golden show,
'Dare not decay, remove or be impure:
'Both Nature, Time, and Fortune all agree
'To bless and serve her royal majesty.
'The wallowing ocean hems her round about,
'Whose raging floods do swallow up her foes,
'And on the rocks their ships in pieces split,
'And even in Spain (where all the traitors dance
'And play themselves upon a sunny day)

'Securely guard the west part of her isle:
'The south the narrow Britain sea begirts,
'Where Neptune sits in triumph to direct
'Their course to hell that aim at her disgrace.
'The German seas along the east do run,
'Where Venus banquets all her water nymphs,
'That with her beauty glancing on the waves
'Disdains the check of fair Proserpina.'

What is here said of Spanish traitors and of the waves swallowing up the foes of Elizabeth, may allude to the destruction of the Armada, and would fix the date of the play in the end of 1588, or in the beginning of 1589. The passage is not very intelligible as it stands, and perhaps something has been lost. The versification of the whole differs little from this specimen, and no pains have been taken by the author to render his lines less ponderous and monotonous. Couplets are scattered here and there as they could be brought in, and Stukely dies after four lines of rhyme, which is rather an unusual number in succession.

Warton has traced with considerable patience the degree of resemblance between Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* and Milton's *Comus;* expressing his opinion, which may be well founded, that the latter was derived from the former*. It yet remains to be seen whether they did not each make use of the same original narrative, which has not yet come to light†: in the one case, a

* In his edition of Milton's Minor Poems, p. 136.

† One of the incidents is found in *The Three Kings of Colchester*, and no doubt all the others might be traced. Vide Peele's Works, i. 205, edit. 1829.

smooth versifier mingled it with a disgusting quantity of trash and absurdity; in the other case, a noble poet invested it with grandeur and dignity, set off by an equal portion of sweetness and simplicity. *The Old Wives' Tale* is nothing but a beldam's story, with little to recommend it but heavy prose and not much lighter blank-verse; and allowing for the early date of its production, Peele seems to have used his materials with very moderate skill, and with the display of but little fancy. Although it was not printed until 1595, it seems to bear marks of having been an early production, perhaps then printed by the author to supply some temporary necessity. That he was often put to severe trials by his poverty, and that he was not very scrupulous as to the mode of obtaining relief* is evident from his *Merry Conceited Jests*, to the representations of which I am disposed to give much more credit than is attached to them by the recent editor of Peele's Works. They were published soon after his death, and some of them were made the incidents of a

* One of the latest acts of his life was an imposition attempted (perhaps successfully) upon Lord Burghley: in order to obtain money from that nobleman, in January, 1596, he sent to him *The Tale of Troy*, a MS. poem of about 500 lines, as a new production, when, in fact, Peele had printed the piece in 1589, at the end of his 'Farewell, &c., to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake.' Peele had been married, and we may hope, from the cause of his death, prior to 1598, (if Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, be correct,) that he was at that date a widower. He sent the poem to Lord Burghley by his 'eldest daughter,' so that he had more than one. His original letter to the Lord Treasurer on this occasion is among the Lansdown MSS., vol. 99.

favourite comedy, attributed to Shakespeare, but probably the work of Wentworth Smith, who was Peele's contemporary, and doubtless his acquaintance*.

Peele's *Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First* is one of our most ancient 'Chronicle Histories' in blank-verse†, and deserves attention rather on this account than because it possesses much merit as a theatrical production. It is in every point of view inferior to Marlow's *Edward II.*, which seems to have set the pattern in this species of composition. The characters are not distinct, and only that of the king can be said to be drawn with any degree of spirit and fidelity: the truth of history is most grossly violated as far as regards the queen, for the purpose of gratifying the popular antipathy to the Spaniards. This, however, is not a point of much importance, if the abandonment of historical accuracy had improved the play; but it renders it more incongruous, and makes the devoted attachment of Edward to his queen a preposterous infatuation. The serious portions of

* The earliest known edition of Peele's Jests is dated in 1607, and a copy of it was sold among the books of Major Pearson: the edition which Mr. Dyce used, that of 1627, was last sold, I believe, in the Gordonstoun library. *The Puritan, or the Widow of Watling-street*, in which Peele figures under the name of George Pieboard, was printed in the same year.

† It was first printed in 1593, and again in 1599; the death of the author, shortly before the last-mentioned year, having perhaps attracted fresh attention to it. It may be reasonably conjectured that it was played some years before it was published. It is reprinted in the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*.

the play are endeavoured to be relieved by some comic scenes, most of which are destitute of humour and full of grossness: from this censure we must however except what relates to Lluellen, Prince of Wales, and his adherents, who diversify the progress of the story by assuming the characters of Robin Hood and his merry foresters.

The only part of *Edward the First* that has a fair claim to the epithet good is its opening, which relates to the arrival of the king from Palestine, and the reception of him by the queen mother. There is a degree of royalty and splendour about the air of this scene which leads us to expect more from the conclusion. It is, nevertheless, but fair to remark, that the later portions have been handed down to us in a state so mutilated that it is impossible to know in what shape they came from the pen of the author. The only specimen I shall give is from a speech by the queen mother in the first scene; and here it will be observed that Peele has rather mounted himself upon stilts, than acquired dignity from the natural elevation of his capacity.

'Illustrious England, ancient seat of kings
'Whose chivalry hath royaliz'd thy fame,
'That, sounding bravely through terrestrial vale,
'Proclaiming conquests, spoils, and victories,
'Rings glorious echoes through the farthest world!
'What warlike nation, train'd in feats of arms,
'What barbarous people, stubborn or untam'd,
'What climate under the meridian signs,
'Or frozen zone under his brumal stage,

'Erst have not quak'd and trembled at the name
'Of Britain and her mighty conquerors?
'Her neighbour realms, as Scotland, Denmark, France,
'Aw'd with their deeds and jealous of her arms,
'Have begg'd defensive and offensive leagues.
'Thus Europe, rich and mighty in her kings,
'Hath fear'd brave England, dreadful in her kings.
'And now, to eternize Albion's champions,
'Equivalent with Trojan's ancient fame,
'Comes lovely Edward from Jerusalem,
'Veering before the wind, ploughing the sea;
'His stretched sails fill'd with the breath of men
'That through the world admire his manliness.
'And lo, at last arriv'd in Dover road,
'Longshank, your king, your glory, and our son,
'With troops of conquering lords and warlike knights,
'Like bloody-crested Mars, o'erlooks his host,
'Higher than all his army by the head,
'Marching along as bright as Phœbus' eyes!
'And we, his mother, shall behold our son,
'And England's peers shall see their sovereign.'

It will be observed, that these lines are no improvement upon Peele's versification: he seems studious not to admit any variety, as if the excellence of blank-verse consisted only in its sounding rotundity.

The best of Peele's dramas, *The Love of King David and fair Bethsabe*, I think, has been over-praised: in my view, it has little to recommend it but harmonious versification. It is quite needless to enter into the story, which is inartificially conducted, the author, not feeling warranted in deviating from Scripture history. It is only in this instance that Peele has appeared to be at all sensible that verse,

deprived of the ornament of rhyme, required any variety of modulation to make it attractive; but in this respect he has not given himself much trouble, and most of the lines run as monotonously as in his less mature productions. In this respect Marlow outstripped all his rivals and contemporaries.

In the year when *David and Bethsabe* was printed, 1599, the contest regarding the immoral tendency of theatrical performances having been renewed, it was carried on with increased vigour, and Dr. Rainold's *Overthrow of Stage-Plays* was then published *. Peele was then dead; but perhaps one reason for printing *David and Bethsabe*, was to counteract the argument of the unscriptural tendency of dramatic productions, and several religious plays by Chettle, Dekker, Rowley, and others appear to have been brought out about this date or shortly afterwards. It unquestionably places the character of 'Israel's sweetest singer' in as favourable a light as possible, and the author deserves credit for omitting nothing that could advance his object. When it was written we have no information, but if before 1590, when the first three books of Spenser's *Fairy Queen* were printed, Peele, like Marlow, must have had access to them in MS. He was without Marlow's excuse for the following plagiarism; and, where there is such a decided inequality between the two poets,

* The copy at Bridgewater House however is dated 1600. It was printed at Middleburg, by Richard Schilders. It was reprinted in London in 1629.

we cannot hesitate a moment in giving the priority to Spenser. Joab is speaking of David :

' Beauteous and bright is he among the tribes,
' As when the sun, attir'd in *glistering* robe,
' Comes *dancing* from his *oriental gate*,
' And, *bridegroom*-like, *hurls through the gloomy air*
' His radiant beams.'

Spenser's lines, in Fairy Queen, L. i., c. 5, st. 2, are these :—

' At last the golden *oriental gate*
' Of greatest heaven 'gan to open fair ;
' And Phœbus, fresh as *bridegroom* to his mate,
' Came *dancing* forth, shaking his dewy hair,
' And *hurl'd his glistering beams through gloomy air.*'

There can be no doubt of the identity of the two quotations, and Spenser had in his recollection the well-known passage in the Psalms describing the sun coming 'forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber.' This is an instance in which Peele has been the plagiary ; but in the subsequent example he is clearly the injured party. In the Chorus which probably closed the first Act of *David and Bethsabe* (for the old copy is not divided), we find this simile :—

' Like as the fatal raven, that in his voice
' Carries the dreadful summons of our deaths,
' Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries,
' Her pleasant gardens, and delightsome parks,
' Seeming to curse them with his hoarse exclaims,
' And yet doth stoop with hungry violence
' Upon a piece of hateful carrion ;
' So wretched man,' &c.

In Shirley and Chapman's tragedy of *Philip Chabot*, 1639, Act iv., we meet with precisely the same figure, similarly expressed:

——— 'Like crowes and carrion birds
'They fly ore flowrie meades, cleare springs, fair gardens,
'And stoope at carcasses.'

One metaphor in this production has received extraordinary praise: it is said by Hawkins, in his *Origin of the English Drama*, to be 'worthy of Æschylus.'

'At him the thunder shall discharge his bolt,
'And his fair spouse, with bright and fiery wings,
'Sit ever burning on his hateful bones.'

The beauty of this expression consists in terming lightning the 'spouse' of thunder; and if this be good, which I do not deny, the next line is evidently bad, inasmuch as it would represent lightning as fixed and stationary: the spouse of thunder must be admitted by all to be a very volatile lady. The following speech by David, in favour of Absalom, is a fair specimen of the general style of the piece.

'But now, my lords and captains, hear his voice
'That never yet pierc'd piteous heaven in vain;
'Then let it not slip lightly through your ears.
'For my sake spare the young man Absalon.
'Joab, thyself didst once use friendly words
'To reconcile my heart incens'd to him;
'If then thy love be to thy kinsman sound,
'And thou wilt prove a perfect Israelite,
''Friend him with deeds, and touch no hair of him;
'Not that fair hair with which the wanton winds
'Delight to play, and love to make it curl,

'Wherein the nightingales would build their nests,
'And make sweet bowers in every golden tress,
'To sing their lover every night asleep.
'O, spoil not, Joab, Jove's fair ornaments,
'Which he hath sent to solace David's soul!
'The best, ye see, my lords, are swift to sin:
'To sin our feet are wash'd with milk of roes,
'And dried again with coals of lightning.
'Oh, Lord! thou seest the proudest sin's poor slave,
'And with his bridle pulls him to the grave *.'

These lines, it will be remarked, are like all the rest of Peele's blank-verse, exhibiting much smoothness, but with a degree of sameness in the rhythm which fatigues the ear. The only variations upon which he ventures (with the exception of the use of a few more trochees at the ends of the lines) are the occasional insertion of a redundant syllable, and the rare employment of a word where the accent varies the ordinary monotony.

* This line, as printed by the Rev. Mr. Dyce, exhibits almost the solitary verbal blemish of his edition: it there stands,

'And with his bridle pull'st him to the grave:'

as if David, addressing the Lord, said, 'Thou pull'st man to the grave with the bridle of sin;' whereas the meaning is, that 'sin with his bridle pulls man to the grave.' The passage would read better, could we alter *and* in the last line to *who*.

ON

THOMAS KYD AND HIS WORKS.

THOMAS KYD was an author of great celebrity, and his *Spanish Tragedy* went through more editions than perhaps any play of the time: it is to be recollected, however, that after 1602, the impressions were accompanied by the supplemental scenes and speeches of Ben Jonson, which added so much to the force and beauty of the play, that Kyd's portion of the tragedy is read to some disadvantage*. Ben Jonson was paid for some of them in September, 1601, and for others in June, 1602†; but it is clear, from a passage in his *Cynthia's*

* Hawkins, when he printed this piece in his *Origin of the English Drama*, was not aware that these additions were penned by so distinguished a poet as Ben Jonson; and he treats them without ceremony, asserting that they were 'foisted in by the players,' and not saying a single syllable in their praise, though he felt bound to subjoin them in a note. It is singular also that Gifford, in his edition of Ben Jonson's Works, should pass over these very striking and characteristic additions almost without notice: they represent Ben Jonson in rather a new light, for certainly there is nothing in his own entire plays equalling in pathetic beauty some of his contributions to *The Spanish Tragedy*. In his verses upon Shakespeare he calls our author 'sporting Kyd,' an epithet to which he seems to have been led, rather by its punning applicability to the name of Kyd, than because it was characteristic of his style.

† See Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 334. On the 25th of

Revels, played in 1600, that at that date *The Spanish Tragedy* was not in its original shape, as it came from the hands of Kyd: 'Another swears down all that sit 'about him, that the *old* Hieronimo, *as it was first* 'acted, was the only best and judiciously penned play 'of Europe*.' Besides the *Jeronimo* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd was the translator of *Cornelia*, from the French of Garnier†. Whether he was older or younger than Marlow, we are without the means of determining; but it seems likely that he was older, and that before he adopted blank-verse, in pursuance of Marlow's example, he had written some plays either

September, 1601, Ben Jonson was paid 40*s.* for 'writing his *additions*' in Jeronymo; and on the 22d of June, 1602, 10*l.* 'in earnest 'of a book called Richard Crookeback, and for *new additions* for Jero- 'nimo.' Henslowe, in both cases, refers to *The Spanish Tragedy* as the second part of the older play of *Jeronimo*. The precise amount of the additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* is ascertained by comparing the older printed copy of 1599 with that of 1602, which professes to be 'newly corrected, amended, and enlarged with the *new additions* of the painter's part and others.' The painter's part was, consequently, the last improvement made by Ben Jonson.

* Reed thought that this expression had reference to the play called on the title *The first part of Jeronimo*, (also, doubtless, the work of Kyd,) and not to *The Spanish Tragedy*; but the discovery of Henslowe's papers leads to a contrary conclusion, and must set the point at rest.

† It has been suggested by Hawkins, (*Origin of the English Drama*, ii. 198,) that Kyd also wrote *Soliman and Perseda*, 1599, and Malone has assigned to him, upon conjecture, the old *Taming of a Shrew*, 1594: they proceed, however, upon no facts, and there certainly is not anything like sufficient resemblance in point of style to warrant the belief, that Kyd was concerned in their authorship.

in rhyme or prose. His oldest extant play, the first part of *Jeronimo*, (not published until 1605,) has about as much rhyme in it as blank-verse, and Kyd does not seem to have ventured then to run the risk of relinquishing a popular attraction. It is to be gathered from another passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, that 'the first part of *Jeronimo*' was brought upon the stage about the year 1588.

Kyd was a poet of very considerable mind, and deserves, in some respects, to be ranked above more notorious contemporaries: his thoughts are often both new and natural; and if in his plays he dealt largely in blood and death, he only partook of the habit of the time, in which good sense and discretion were often outraged for the purpose of gratifying the crowd. In taste he is inferior to Peele, but in force and character he is his superior; and if Kyd's blank-verse be not quite so smooth, it has decidedly more spirit, vigour, and variety. As a writer of blank-verse, I am inclined, among the predecessors of Shakespeare, to give Kyd the next place to Marlow.

'The first part of *Jeronimo*' was only once printed, and certainly never attracted half the attention that was directed to *The Spanish Tragedy*. It is the first play upon record that bears evidence of having been written for a particular performer, a man of unusually small stature, and in many places this circumstance is brought forward*. The story is wanting in incident,

* Hence it is evident, that if there be any truth in Dekker's assertion,

the love of Don Andrea and Bellimperia, and the death of the first, forming the principal features of it: the scene, however, rapidly changes from Spain to Portugal, and the deficiency in events is in some degree made up for by the bustle and show of hostility between the two kingdoms, in consequence of the refusal of its annual tribute by the latter. As a dramatic production, *Jeronimo* is in every respect below *The Spanish Tragedy*, but the language is often striking and the thoughts bold: thus, when Andrea is about to proceed to Lisbon to demand the tribute withheld, Bellimperia expresses her fears that a conflict must ensue between her lover and the young courageous Prince of Portugal. She tells Andrea—

'Ye'll meet like thunder—each imperious
'Over other's spleen; you both have proud spirits,
'And both will strive to aspire:
'When two vex'd clouds justle, they strike out fire.'

In this tragedy there is an attempt at character, and not without success: that of the hero, who gives it name, is not so fully made out as in *The Spanish Tragedy;* but Andrea, and Bathezar his rival, are drawn with decision and force, and the unsuspecting generosity of the former is well opposed to the wily intricacies of Lorenzo, the nephew of the King, and

(controverted by Gifford, *Ben Jonson's Works*, i. xvii.) that Ben Jonson originally performed the part of Jeronimo, he must allude not to the tragedy now under consideration, but to *The Spanish Tragedy*, where nothing is said regarding the personal appearance of the hero or his representative.

the heir to the Spanish crown. As a specimen of the blank-verse in this play, the subsequent may be taken, and it shows no little command of language. It is from the speech of Balthezar, before he leads the Portuguese army to the field against Spain.

'Come, valiant spirits, you peers of Portugal,
'That owe your lives, your faiths, and services,
'To set you free from base captivity.
'Oh, let our fathers' scandal ne'er be seen
'As a base blush upon our freeborn cheeks.
'Let all the tribute that proud Spain received
'Of those all captive Portugals deceased,
'Turn into chaff and choke their insolence.
'Methinks no memory, not one little thought*
'Of them whose servile acts live in their graves,
'But should raise spleens big as a cannon bullet
'Within your bosoms. Oh, for honour,
'Your country's reputation, your lives' freedom,
'Indeed your all that may be term'd revenge!
'Now let your bloods be liberal as the sea,
'And all those wounds that you receive of Spain,
'Let theirs be equal to quite yours again.'

Here we see trochees used at the ends of the lines, and the pauses are even artfully managed; while redundant syllables are inserted, and lines left defective still farther to add to the variety.

Too strong an epithet is not applied to *The Spanish Tragedy* (or, as it may be fitly termed, the second part of *Jeronimo*), if we call it a very powerful performance.

* In the old copy the line runs thus:

'Methinks no *moiety*, not one little thought,' &c.

which is nonsense; and I apprehend that the word *moiety* has been misprinted for *memory*, which is quite consistent with the sense of the passage.

The story has many incongruities and absurdities, and various passages and situations were made the laughing-stocks of subsequent dramatists; but parts of it are in the highest degree pathetic and interesting. It turns upon the love of Horatio, the son of Hieronimo (so he is now called, perhaps because Kyd found in the interval, that Jeronimo was rather Italian than Spanish) and Belimperia, who, after the death of Andrea, had turned the full tide of her affections upon his young, faithful, and noble friend. Horatio is hanged upon the stage, in the garden of his father, by his rival, the Prince of Portugal, and Lorenzo, the brother of Belimperia, in the commencement of the second act: during the rest of the play, Hieronimo, in a state of distraction, is seeking revenge, and finds it only at last in the chance-medley, as it were, of a play represented before the King and nobility of Spain. The old father is always meditating the punishment of the guilty, and always postponing the execution of his project; so that, in this respect, his character in some degree resembles that of *Hamlet:* the insertion of a play within a play, gives the whole tragedy a still greater appearance of similarity to that of Shakespeare. In the fourth Act, Hieronimo comes before the King and Court of Spain to demand justice upon the murderers of Horatio, and is put aside by the interference of Lorenzo, one of the guilty parties, almost without a struggle for a hearing: soon afterwards, the Spanish Ambassador speaks of a ransom due from the Prince of Portugal to Horatio,

and at the unexpected mention of his dear son's name, the old man starts from a melancholy abstraction and exclaims,

'Horatio! Who calls Horatio?
'Justice! Oh, justice! justice, gentle king!
'*King.* Who is that? Hieronimo?
'*Hier.* Justice! Oh, justice! O my son, my son!
'*Lorenzo.* Hieronimo, you are not well advis'd.
'*Hier.* Away, Lorenzo! hinder me no more,
'For thou hast made me bankrupt of my bliss.
'Give me my son! you shall not ransom him.'

He sees nothing but Horatio in every face he looks upon, and all objects take their colour and appearance from his sorrows. His grief is not as sublime, but it is as intense as that of Lear; and he dwells upon the image of his lost Horatio, with not less doating agony than Constance, when she exclaims

'Grief fills the room up of my absent child,' &c.

The other characters are all far inferior to that of Hieronimo. Whole passages of this play are in rhyme, but the jingle is less frequent towards the close, after the author thought he had sufficiently engaged the interest and attention of his hearers. The blank-verse can hardly be said to be any improvement upon that of 'the first part of *Jeronimo:*' one short extract from a speech of Belimperia, to her brother Lorenzo, who had confined her in a tower after the murder of Horatio, will be sufficient.

'What means this outrage that is offered me?
'Why am I thus sequester'd from the Court?
'No notice? Shall I not know the cause

'Of these my secret and suspicious ills?
'Accursed brother! unkind murderer!
'Why bend'st thou thus thy mind to martyr me?
'Hieronimo, why writ I of thy wrongs *,
'Or, why art thou so slack in thy revenge?
'Andrea! Oh Andrea! that thou sawest
'Me for thy friend Horatio handled thus,
'And him for me thus causeless murdered!
'Well, force perforce, I must constrain myself
'To patience, and apply me to the time,
'Till heaven, as I have hop'd, shall set me free.'

Kyd's *Cornelia* merely requires notice as a very successful translation for the time at which it appeared: it was printed in 1594, but it was not intended for the stage; and it was so much liked, that in the following year it arrived at a second impression.

I will insert a short specimen from the chorus to Act iv., in order to show the facility with which Kyd wrote in lyrical measure.

'He only lives most happily
'That, free and far from majesty,
'Can live content, although unknown;
'He fearing none, none fearing him,
'Meddling with nothing but his own,
'While gazing eyes at crowns grow dim.'

* She had secretly sent a letter to Hieronimo, informing him who were the murderers of Horatio.

ON

THOMAS LODGE AND HIS WORKS.

As a poet, Lodge is to be placed in a rank superior to Greene, and in some respects inferior to Kyd. Greene's love of natural beauty was overlaid by a mass of affectation and conceit, which rarely allowed it to appear, and to a certain degree he was imitated by Lodge, with whom he was intimate, and with whom he wrote one dramatic performance. The love of natural beauty in Lodge, however, breaks through the fanciful allusions and artificial ornaments with which he endeavoured to adapt himself to the taste of the time. It is not my business to investigate the character of Lodge's poetry beyond its connection with the stage, but a collection of his pastoral and lyrical pieces, published in 1819, contains many specimens of beautiful versification, elegant thoughts, and natural imagery. It is well known that Shakespeare took the story of his *As you like it* from a novel by Lodge, first published in 1590 under the title of *Rosalynde*, and subsequently often reprinted. Of this production it may be said (and no higher praise can well be given to it), that our admiration of many portions of it will not be diminished by a comparison with the work of our great dramatist *.

* It is supposed that Lodge was born about 1556, and that after

Lodge is second to Kyd in vigour and boldness of conception, but as a drawer of character (so essential a part of dramatic poetry) he unquestionably has the advantage, a point that is fully exemplified by his historical play, called *The Wounds of Civil War, lively set forth in the true tragedies of Marius and Sylla.* We can hardly call it a work of genius, but unquestionably it required no common talent to produce it. The only edition of it was published in 1594, but it had then been some years upon the stage: Lodge commenced author about 1580, when he wrote a defence of theatrical performances, and had perhaps, at that early date, produced, or been concerned in some plays; but *The Wounds of Civil War* was not written until after 1586, as the greater part of it is in blank-

having been a player, in 1584 he became a student of Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently (at what date is uncertain) a Doctor of Medicine: probably when he went on a voyage with Cavendish in 1592, it was in the capacity of surgeon to the expedition. In 1596, he published his *Fig for Momus*, consisting of Satires, Eclogues, and Epistles, all of which have various degrees of merit, and in some pieces it is of a high order, especially his Satires. Heywood, in his *Troja Britannica*, 1609, mentions Lodge as one of the famous physicians of the day; and he was living in 1616, as is proved by the following extract from the Register of the Privy Council of that year.

'Jany. 10, 1616.

'A passe for Tho. Lodge, Doctor of Physic, and Henry Savell, gent., 'to travell into the Arch-duke's Country, to recover such debts as are 'due unto them there, taking with them two servants, and to returne 'agayne within five moneths.'

It seems likely, therefore, that Lodge acquired considerable property by his practice.

verse. One circumstance, which may lead to the opinion that *The Wounds of Civil War* was not performed long after the appearance of Marlow's *Tamburlaine the Great*, is that it contains a scene imitated from, and intended to rival one in that most applauded production. It is in Act iii., where Sylla returns victor over Mithridates, and, seated in a triumphant car, is drawn upon the stage by Moors and captive Princes.

The characters of old Marius and of his younger rival are drawn in *The Wounds of Civil War* with great force, spirit, and distinctness, a task the more difficult, because they so strongly resembled each other in the great leading features of ambition and cruelty. Marius possesses, however, far more generosity and sterner courage than Sylla, who is impetuously tyrannical and wantonly severe; and the old Roman until his death, after his seventh consulship, absorbs the interest of the reader. Young Marius is also introduced, and is distinguished by his fortitude, his constancy, and his affection for his father. Antony is another prominent personage, and is represented gifted with irresistible eloquence, of which many not unfavourable specimens are inserted. There are two females, Cornelia and Fulvia, the wife and daughter of Sylla, the one remarkable for her matronly firmness, and the other for her youthful delicacy and tenderness, which however do not prevent her conducting herself with the resolution becoming a Roman maid. A Clown and various coarsely comic characters are employed in

two scenes, in order to enliven and vary the performance. The plot of the piece (which may be seen reprinted in Vol. viii. of the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*) is founded chiefly upon the lives of Marius and Sylla, in Plutarch, and the scene is changed, just as the necessities of the poet required, from Rome to Pontus, Minturnum and Numidia *.

The blank-verse of Lodge runs with even more monotony than is found in the dramatic pieces of his contemporaries Peele and Greene: he now and then inserts an additional syllable, for convenience rather than by design; but he seems studiously to avoid the use of trochees at the ends of his lines, as if he considered them a defect, and that the verse ought to close with an emphatic and accented syllable. Of this opinion there are several striking proofs in the play: in one scene, Sylla says to his flying army,

'Are you the wonder'd legions of the world,
'And will you fly these shadows of *resist*?'

If Lodge had not thought that a trochee at the end of a line ought to be avoided, he would, of course, have written 'resistance' instead of 'resist,' which is an awkward conversion of a verb into a substantive. Another instance of the use of the same word, for the

* Dramatic proprieties are little observed: Plutarch represents that the assassin employed to kill Marius on this occasion was a Gaul, and accordingly Lodge makes him a Frenchman, speaking broken English and scraps of his own language. This person swears *Par le sang de Dieu*, Jesu, &c.; and Marius himself, 'By our Lady.' Towards the close, a clown talks in Rome of the *Paul's steeple of honour* as the highest point that can be attained.

same reason, occurs afterwards, when Lucretius says to Tuditanus of the resolute opposition of young Marius and his followers at Præneste,

'Their valour, Tuditanus, and *resist*,
'The manlike fight of younger Marius,
'Makes me amaz'd to see their miseries.'

So far did Lodge carry this notion, that he rarely terminates a verse with a word of the same quantity as that which closes the last of the preceding lines. Some long speeches are in rhyme, and stanzas and couplets are numerous throughout, which tend to establish that it was an early performance after the first introduction of blank-verse upon the common stage. One point connected with the rhymes of this play merits observation: Lodge often uses triplets, a circumstance of rare occurrence in other dramatic poets preceding Shakespeare. The following, from one of the speeches of Antony, may be taken as a sufficient specimen of the smoothness of the versification of Lodge: it is addressed to Sylla, to dissuade him from executing the bold and sturdy Granius:—

'Aye, but the milder passions show the man;
'For as the leaf doth beautify the tree,
'The pleasant flowers bedeck the painted spring,
'Even so in men of greatest reach and power,
'A mild and piteous thought augments renown.
'Old Antony did never see, my lord,
'A swelling shower did continue long,
'A climbing tower that did not taste the wind,
'A wrathful man not wasted with repent.
'I speak of love, my Sylla, and of joy,
'To see how fortune lends a pleasant gale

'Unto the spreading sails of thy desires;
'And loving thee must counsel thee withal:
'For as, by cutting, fruitful vines increase,
'So faithful counsels work a prince's peace.'

This passage, in the word 'repent' for repentance, affords another instance of the constraint Lodge put upon himself in order to preserve the weight at the conclusion of his lines. The whole scene which relates to the capture of Cornelia and Fulvia, their contempt of death, and their liberation from the fear of it by the magnanimity of Marius, is finely written, making allowance for the system to which Lodge subscribed.

The dramatic performance which Lodge produced in conjunction with Robert Greene, and which was first printed in 1594 *, must, of course, have been written prior to September, 1592, when Greene died. The whole scope of it seems to be to counteract the prevalent puritanical notion, that dramatic amusements were antiscriptural and immoral. It applies the story of Nineveh to the City of London, the prophet Oseas being introduced as a speaker; and after every scene, in which some fresh crime or vice is pourtrayed, he warns the inhabitants of the metropolis, lest they also in the same manner incur the wrath of heaven. His speeches, with one exception, are in rhyme, and of these the subsequent will be as long a specimen as is necessary.

'Iniquity seeks out companions still,
'And mortal men are armed to do ill.

* A unique copy of this edition is among the many dramatic rarities of the Duke of Devonshire.

'London, look on, this matter nips thee near;
'Leave off thy riot pride and sumptuous cheer.
'Spend less at board and spare not at the door,
'But aid the infant and relieve the poor;
'Else seeking mercy, being merciless,
'Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness.'

Adultery, incest, murder, bribery, usury, drunkenness, &c., with their evil consequences, are exhibited in turn; and in order to accomplish this object the most incongruous matter is introduced, giving the manners of London as those of Nineveh, and mixing up Rasni and his queen and concubines with the knaves, lawyers, usurers, and beggars of the metropolis. It however contains a severe satire and moral lecture, and the authors seem to have had no scruple in speaking out; but the censure is always general, and never could have had any particular application. Jonas 'cast out of the whale' upon the stage, laments over the state of Israel, and after Oseas has taken his departure, he too warns the inhabitants of Nineveh to repent. Rasni and his adherents accordingly put on sackcloth and ashes, and the face of things is entirely changed; for, instead of shouts and revellings, nothing but lamentations and prayers are heard on every side, and Nineveh, by the mouth of Jonas, is forgiven: he thus moralises in the conclusion—

'Wend on in peace and prosecute this course,
'You islanders, on whom the milder air
'Doth sweetly breathe the balm of kind increase,
'Whose lands are fattened with the dew of heaven,

'And made more fruitful than Actean plains.
'You, whom delicious pleasures dandle soft;
'Whose eyes are blinded with security,
'Unmask yourselves, cast error clean aside.'

He then likens the crimes of London to those of Nineveh, and ends with the following extravagant compliment to Queen Elizabeth—

'And think the prayers and virtues of thy Queen
'Defer the plague which otherwise would fall.
'Repent, oh London! lest for thine offence
'Thy shepherd fail, whom mighty God preserve,
'That she may bide the pillar of his church
'Against the storms of Romish Antichrist.
'The hand of mercy overshade her head,
'And let all faithful subjects say, Amen.'

This is scarcely more absurd than all the rest of the performance, which is wearisomely dull, although the authors have endeavoured to lighten the weight by the introduction of scenes of drunken buffoonery between a 'clown and his crew of ruffians,' and between the same clown and a person disguised as the devil, in order to frighten him, but who is detected and well beaten. There was no such marked difference between the styles of Greene and Lodge as to enable us to decide which part of the play was written by the one and which by the other.

ON

THOMAS NASH AND HIS WORKS.

Nash, who as a wit and a satirist was superior to all his contemporaries, as a dramatic poet must be placed below most of them. He has left behind him only one performance, in writing which he alone was engaged—*Summer's Last Will and Testament*—which is not to be regarded so much in the light of a play as of a show: it was exhibited before Elizabeth at Nonsuch, in the autumn of the year 1592, although not printed until eight years afterwards. He was concerned, with Marlow, in penning *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, printed in 1594, and apparently written previous to 1590, also acted in the presence of the Queen, by the children of her Chapel. The portions of the latter which belong to each author are, I think, to be traced without much difficulty, for a reason which I shall state hereafter. Nash likewise wrote a satirical play (at least such we must suppose it to have been), which has been already noticed, called *The Isle of Dogs*, in consequence of which he was imprisoned *.

* It was never printed. In *The Trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597, by Gabriel Harvey, there is a rude wood-cut of a man in fetters, meant for Nash, and in allusion to the imprisonment arising out of his *Isle of*

Nash's talent was satirical and vituperative, as appears by his tracts against Martin Marprelate, and by his contest with Gabriel Harvey, regarding Robert Greene *. He had a vigorous understanding, well

Dogs. How long the fame of the contest between Nash and Harvey survived, may be judged from a tract called *General Marsey's Bartholomew's Fairings*, 1647, the last lines of which are these:

'Ne'er look to die: thou shalt be laugh'd at still,
'Longer than *Nash's Harvey*, or Triplet's Gill.'

'Triplet's Gill' I am unable to explain: perhaps Gill, is Gill of Brentford, or some satire under the name of Rabelais' fool, *Triboulet*.

* A tract by Nash is preserved in the library at Bridgewater House, which I have found nowhere else, and I do not recollect to have seen it mentioned in any list of Nash's productions. It is curious not only on this account, but because it shows the high reputation of Daniel's *Delia*, twice printed in 1592, and throws new light upon the productions of a dramatic poetess of some celebrity. It is called *The 'Terrors of the Night, 'or a Discourse of Apparitions, &c.* Thomas Nashe. London, printed 'by John Danter, for William Jones, &c., 1594.' It is dedicated to Mistress Elizabeth Carey, 'sole daughter' of Sir George Carey, Knight. 'Miraculous (says Nash) is your wit, and so is acknowledged by the 'wittiest poets of our age, who have vowed to enshrine you as their 'second *Delia*;' and he subsequently thus continues: 'A worthie 'daughter are you of so worthie a Mother, borrowing (as another 'Phœbe from her bright sunne-like resplendaunce) the orient beames 'of your radiaunce. Into the Muses' societie herself she hath lately 'adopted, and purchast divine Petrarch another monument in England.' What work the mother had translated from Petrarch nowhere appears; but I apprehend the daughter is the same who afterwards wrote the tragedy of *Mariam, the fair Queen of Jewry*, not printed until 1613. In the body of *The Terrors of the Night*, Nash expresses his great obligations to Sir George Carey, probably of a pecuniary kind: 'Through 'him my tender wainscot studie doore is delivered from much assault 'and batterie: through him I look into and am looked on in the world, 'from whence otherwise I were a wretched banished exile.'

stored with scholarship, and he was capable of giving powerful descriptions of things, and striking characters of persons. His *Supplication of Pierce Penniless to the Devil*, 1592, contains a very original and awful picture of the agonies of a repentant spirit, which was followed up, though with less effect, in his *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*, 1593. He was dead in the year 1600, as appears by an epitaph upon him in C. Fitzgeoffrey's *Affaniæ*, printed in that year *.

Summer's Last Will and Testament would require but a short notice, even if it had not been reprinted in the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*. It makes no pretension to diversity of character in the persons, nor to interest in the plot: the only part which can lay claim to anything like individuality, is that of Will Summer [or Sommers] the well-known jester of Henry VIII., who inserts interlocutions during the performance, which was intended merely to please by the variety of its shows, and a certain degree of ingenuity

* The following apostrophic character of Nash, from a rare tract by Thomas Dekker, called *Newes from Hell*, 1606, is worth quoting:—'And thou, into whose soul, if ever there were a Pythagorean *metem-psychosis*, the raptures of that fiery and inconfinable Italian spirit were 'bounteously and boundlessly infused, thou sometime Secretary to 'Pierce Penniless, and Master of his Requests, ingenious, ingenuous, 'fluent, facetious T. Nash; from whose abundant pen honey flowed to 'thy friends, and mortal aconite to thy enemies—thou that made the 'Doctor [Harvey] a flat dunce, and beat him at two sundry tall 'weapons, poetry and oratory, sharpest satire, luculent poet, elegant 'orator, get leave for thy ghost to come from her abiding, and to dwell 'with me awhile.'

in its construction. The piece depends upon a sort of pun, or confusion between the name of the jester and the division of the year which corresponds with that name. As it was acted in the autumn of 1592, Summer is appropriately represented in the last stage of his life, calling all his attendants about him, and by making his will, preparing for death. The other seasons are also conspicuous personages in the exhibition, which is tedious, notwithstanding Nash has shown great skill, and some wit, in introducing every thing ancient and modern learning could supply to aid his purpose. It has, however, few passages of poetical merit, and that only of a secondary description: the best of these is unquestionably the following lines given to *Solstitium*.

'I never lov'd ambitiously to climb,
'Or thrust my hand too far into the fire.
'To be in heaven sure is a blessed thing,
'But, Atlas-like, to prop heaven on one's back
'Cannot but be more labour than delight.
'Such is the state of men in honour placed:
'They are gold vessels made for servile uses;
'High trees that keep the weather from low houses,
'But cannot shield the tempest from themselves.
'I love to dwell betwixt the hills and dales,
'Neither to be so great to be envied,
'Nor yet so poor the world should pity me.'

This is a very favourable specimen, also, of Nash's blank-verse; and it contains almost the only instances of the employment of trochees at the ends of lines, from the beginning to the conclusion of the perform-

ance. Nash seems, like most of our early writers of 'English iambics,' to have held that they ought properly to close with an accented syllable. Neither is he in the habit of varying his measure by other expedients, so that it runs with a degree of sameness that would hardly be endurable if a great part of his production were not in prose, which often comes to the relief of the ear.

It is chiefly the circumstance of the monotony of Nash's versification which enables us to judge what parts of the tragedy of *Dido* proceeded from his pen, and what other parts from that of his coadjutor, Marlow. In the scenes, however, in which I apprehend the hand of the latter is visible, there is not only greater variety of rhythm, pause, and modulation in the verse, but a nobler and a richer vein of poetry. On these accounts it will be necessary to examine this production with a little more attention than has been bestowed upon Nash's unaided effort.

Taken as a whole, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, must be pronounced a very graceful and beautiful poem, although the description of the taking and sacking of Troy is in some places inflated almost to absurdity. This I venture to consider one portion which Nash contributed: he has made up for his want of true poetic genius in descriptive passages by the extravagance of his thoughts and images. In these respects it very much rivals the player's speech in Hamlet (Act ii. Scene 2,) on the same subject. Accord-

ing to Nash, Pyrrhus first strikes off old Priam's hands—

'At which the frantic queen leap'd on his face,
'And in his eyelids hanging by the nails,
'A little while prolong'd her husband's life.
'At last the soldiers pull'd her by the heels,
'And swung her howling in the empty air,
'Which sent an echo to the wounded king:
'Whereat he lifted up his bed-rid limbs,
'And would have grappled with Achilles' son,
'Forgetting both his want of strength and hands;
'Which he disdaining, whisk'd his sword about,
'And with the *wind* thereof the king fell down:
'Then from the navel to the throat at once
'He ripp'd old Priam, at whose latter gasp
'Jove's marble statue 'gan to bend his brow,
'As loathing Pyrrhus for this wicked act*.'

Here I have substituted *wind* for *wound*, as it stands in the old copy, in conformity, probably, with the author's meaning, and with the following corresponding lines in Hamlet—

'Pyrrhus at Priam drives; in rage strikes wide,
'But with the whiff and *wind* of his fell sword
'The unnerved father falls.'

Besides, the *wound* was given subsequently, as is evident from the lines that succeed.

The whole passage is spoken by Æneas, describing the destruction of Troy to the Queen of Carthage. The story is conducted much as in Virgil (who is even quoted by the characters in two instances), but a

* In my extracts from this most rare play I have employed the original 4to. of 1594, in the library at Bridgewater House.

pretty scene is made out of what is said in the original regarding the substitution by Venus of Cupid for Ascanius: Dido takes him to her arms, and Cupid wounds her with a dart he had concealed for the purpose: she almost instantly begins to loathe her suitor Iarbas, and to doat upon Æneas. This scene, and one or two that follow it, I have little hesitation in assigning to Marlow. Soon after she is secretly wounded, Dido exclaims—

'Oh, dull-conceited Dido, that till now
'Did never think Æneas beautiful!
'But now, for quittance of this oversight,
'I'll make me bracelets of his golden hair;
'His glistering eyes shall be my looking-glass,
'His lips an altar, where I'll offer up
'As many kisses as the sea hath sands.
'Instead of music I will hear him speak.
'His looks shall be my only library,
'And thou, Æneas, Dido's treasury,
'In whose fair bosom I will lock more wealth
'Than twenty thousand Indias can afford.'

Shortly afterwards she tells Æneas, (who has besought her to repair his ships,) in a similar strain of poetical luxuriance—

'I'll give thee tackling made of rivel'd gold
'Wound on the barks of odoriferous trees,
'Oars of massy ivory, full of holes
'Through which the water shall delight to play:
'Thy anchors shall be hewed from crystal rocks,
'Which, if thou lose, shall shine above the waves:
'The masts whereon thy swelling sail shall hang,
'Hollow pyramids of silver plate;

'The sails of folded lawn, where shall be wrought
'The wars of Troy—but not Troy's overthrow.'

In these beautiful passages the rhythm is essentially different from that of Nash, and lines are even left imperfect for the sake of variety: Nash would, perhaps, have written—

'Hollow *pyramides* of silver plate'—

by which the mere metre might have been improved, but the general beauty of the quotation lessened by the constant recurrence of the same cadence. Dido afterwards sends for the tackling of the refitted ships of Æneas, in order that he may not escape unawares, and in an exquisite strain of poetry reproaches them, as if they had life and sense, and wished ungratefully to contribute to her misery—

'Is this the wood that grew in Carthage plains,
'And would be toiling in the watery billows
'To rob their mistress of her Trojan guest?
'Oh, cursed tree! hadst thou but wit or sense
'To measure how I prize Æneas' love,
'Thou wouldst have leapt from out the sailor's hands,
'And told me that Æneas meant to go:
'And yet I blame thee not—thou art but wood.'

In the same spirit she elsewhere bursts out—

'O, that I had a charm to keep the winds
'Within the closure of a golden ball;
'Or that the Tyrrhene sea were in mine arms,
'That he might suffer shipwreck on my breast,
'As oft as he attempts to hoist up sail.'

When afterwards Æneas cannot be prevailed upon to remain, she exclaims—

'Thy mother was no goddess, perjur'd man,
'Nor Dardanus the author of thy stock;
'But thou art sprung from Scythian Caucasus,
'And Tigers of Hyrcania gave thee suck.
'Ah, foolish Dido, to forbear thus long!....
'Why star'st thou in my face? If thou wilt stay,
'Leap in mine arms; mine arms are open wide:
'If not, turn from me, and I'll turn from thee;
'For though thou hast the power to say farewell,
'I have not power to stay thee.'

Although there is a marked superiority in the versification of some parts of the play over others, we may conclude with sufficient certainty, that it was produced before Marlow had himself acquired that degree of excellence in the formation of blank-verse which he had attained when he produced his *Edward II.* In the piece itself, however, there is nothing by which we can at all fix the date at which it was written. It seems likely that Nash and Marlow became acquainted not very long after the former had come to London, and had assisted his friend Greene by writing the Epistle before his *Menaphon*, 1587: it is easy to suppose that although Nash there laughs a little at the expense of Marlow, who had then, perhaps, only brought out his *Tamburlaine*, yet that he soon became sensible of his extraordinary and original powers.

ON

HENRY CHETTLE, ANTHONY MUNDAY, AND ROBERT WILSON.

BETWEEN February, 1597, and March, 1603, as we find by Henslowe's Diary, Henry Chettle was concerned, more or less, in the production of eight-and-thirty plays on a great variety of subjects, only four of which have been printed and have descended to us. By a letter from him to Thomas Nash, published by the latter in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596, and signed 'Your old Compositor,' it seems that Chettle had been originally a printer, and having thus become acquainted with dramatic authors, he at length made a similar attempt himself, and succeeded. There is good reason to believe that he had written for the stage prior to 1592, when he published Greene's posthumous *Groatsworth of Wit*, and on this account it will be necessary, with as much brevity as possible, to examine such of his pieces as are still in existence. I shall first speak of a tragedy on which he appears to have been alone engaged, and I shall afterwards notice some of his earlier coadjutors, who, we may also conclude, had produced plays anterior to the time of Shakespeare.

The tragedy of *Hoffman, or a Revenge for a Father*,

is a revolting mass of blood and murder, in which it seems to have been the author's object to concentrate all the horrors he could multiply. It was not printed until it came out anonymously in 1631; but, by an entry among Henslowe's papers, it appears that it was in existence in December, 1602, and that Henry Chettle was the author of it *.

The scene is laid on the shores of the Baltic, near to which the Duke of Prussia keeps his court, and is visited by the Dukes of Saxony and Austria. The foundation of the tragedy rests upon the execution of Admiral Hoffman, father of the hero, as a pirate, (after he had long served the Duke of Lunenburg,) by placing a red-hot crown of iron upon his head, then paring the flesh from his bones, and finally exposing his skeleton upon a gallows. This skeleton young Hoffman, the son and the hero of the tragedy, steals by night, and retiring to a lone cavern near a wood on the coast, hangs it up as a memento of revenge. Prince Otho of Lunenburg is his first victim: he is shipwrecked, and Hoffman, assisted by a faithless servant of the prince, named Lorrique, murders him by placing a red-hot iron crown on his head, and then suspends his body by the side of old Hoffman's skeleton. Hoffman then disguises himself like the prince, and, followed by Lorrique, whom he induces

* The tragedy of *Hoffman* could not be older than 1598, for in the beginning of Act ii. Prince Jerome mentions *The Mirror of Knighthood*, which, having been translated from the Spanish by Margaret Tyler, was printed in that year.

to favour the deception, passes himself off as young Otho of Lunenburg. By various artifices he is able in this character to compass his revenge against many of those who had been concerned in the murder of his father, but his expedients are improbable and clumsy. The most ingenious is one in which he induces Lodowick, son to the Duke of Saxony, to fly, in the dress of a Greek, with Lucibel, daughter of the Duke of Austria: he then informs Mathias, the brother of Lucibel, of the disgrace brought on the family by her supposed infidelity (she being betrothed to Lodowick): Mathias pursues and overtakes them, kills the supposed Greek, and wounds Lucibel, who afterwards goes mad. Hoffman also personates Roderick, (a hermit, in whose cell the scene is often laid, and who turns out to be a long lost brother to the Duke of Saxony,) and Lorrique a French doctor, upon whose recommendation several of the persons most obnoxious to Hoffman swallow poisonous drugs. In the whole, six or seven characters are thus disposed of, while Hoffman is unsuspected, and is adopted by the Duke of Prussia heir to his kingdom, setting aside the claim of his foolish son Jerome. The whole plot is confusedly and most violently conducted, and the catastrophe is brought about by the weakness of the hero, who falls in love with the old Duchess Martha, the mother of the Prince whom he was personating. She leads Hoffman to the lonely part of the shores of the Baltic, (where he had deposited the bones of his father and of the prince,) under

the pretence of gratifying his amorous desires, and there he is surprised by a body of armed men placed in ambush. He in turn dies by the iron crown.

The quantity of blood shed in the tragedy seems long to have rendered it popular; and on the title-page it is stated that it had been 'divers times acted with great applause at the Phœnix in Drury Lane.' If the design of Chettle were to excite terror and pity, he has defeated his own end by his extravagance. As to the language of the piece, it has been handed down to us in a state of deplorable mutilation, and the printer has murdered the author with as little remorse as the author murdered his characters. It is impossible to say how much of the piece, in 1631, was composed of the interpolations of subsequent writers or performers, and the glimpses here and there of something good are often disfigured by rant and absurdity*. Unques-

* To quote literally the first eight lines of the tragedy will enable the reader to judge of the injustice that has probably been done to Chettle by the printer. Hoffman speaks, looking at the skeleton of his father, which is disclosed by his striking open a curtain—

'Hence, clouds of melancholy!
'Ile be no longer subject to your sismes.
'But thou, deare soule, whose nerves and artires
'In dead resoundings summon up revenge—
'And thou shalt hate, be but appeas'd, sweet hearse,
'The dead remembrance of my living father,
'And with a hart as air, swift as thought,
'I'le excuse justly in such a cause.'

Here it is very obvious that a line or more has been lost after the word 'revenge,' which it is impossible to supply: the rest may be thus restored—

'Hence, clouds of melancholy! 'I'll

tionably the best scene in the tragedy, as it stands, is that in which Hoffman, aided by his accomplice Lorrique, is about to murder the Duchess Martha, with whom, absurdly enough, he afterwards falls in love: she is asleep on the stage—

'*Hoffman.* She stirs not: she is fast.
'Sleep, sweet fair Duchess, for thou sleep'st thy last.
'Endymion's love, muffle in clouds thy face,
'And all ye yellow tapers of the heavens,
'Veil your clear brightness in Cimmerian mists:
'Let not one light my black deed beautify,
'For with one stroke virtue and honour die.
'And yet we must not kill her in this kind;
'Weapons draw blood, blood shed will plainly prove
'The worthy Duchess, worthless of her death,
'Was murder'd; and the guard are witnesses
'None enter'd but ourselves.
'*Lorrique.* Then strangle her: here is a towel, sir...
'Nay, good my lord, dispatch.
'*Hoff.* What, ruthless hind!
'Shall I wrong nature, that did ne'er compose
'One of her sex so perfect? Prithee, stay.
'Suppose we kill her thus: about her neck
'Circles of purple blood will change the hue
'Of this white porphyry, and the red lines,

'I'll be no longer subject to your films.
'But thou, dear soul, whose nerves and arteries,
'In dread resoundings summon up revenge—
'And thou shalt ha' it. Be but appeas'd, sweet hearse,
'The dead remembrance of my living father,
'And with a heart as air, as swift as thought,
'I'll justly execute in such a cause.'

We may also conclude that the manuscript used by the printer was very illegible, for in several places he has, with unwonted scrupulousness, left blanks for words he was not able to decypher.

'Mix'd with a deadly black, will tell the world
'She died by violence: then 'twill be enquir'd,
'And we held ever hateful for the act.
'*Lor.* Then place beneath her nostrils this small box,
'Containing such a powder that hath power,
'Being set on fire, to suffocate each sense
'Without the sight of wound, or shew of wrong.
'*Hoff.* That's excellent. Fetch fire—or do not—stay.
'The candle shall suffice, yet that burns dim,
'And drops his waxen tears, as if it mourn'd
'To be an agent in a deed so dark.'

The following extract, where Lodowick, disguised as a Greek, conducts Lucibel to the dwelling of Roderick the hermit, shows that the author was not devoid of sensibility to natural beauty—

'*Lod.* Are you not faint, divinest Lucibel?
'*Luci.* No: the clear moon strews silver in our path,
'And with her moist eyes weeps a gentle dew
'Upon the spotted pavement of the earth,
'Which softens every flower whereon I tread.
'Besides, all travel in your company
'Seems but a walk made in some goodly bower
'Where Love's fair mother clips * her paramour.
'*Lod.* This is the chapel, and behold a bank
'Cover'd with sleeping flowers, that miss the sun.
'Shall we repose us till Mathias come?
'*Luci.* The hermit will soon bring him: let's sit down.
'Nature or art hath taught these boughs to spread
'In manner of an arbour o'er the bank.
'*Lod.* No; they bow down as veils to shadow you;

* I have here ventured to substitute *clips*, or embraces, for *strips*, which, I take it, was the misreading of the printer. In the last line but one I have put *As* instead of *And*, which no doubt is what the poet wrote.

'And the fresh flowers, beguiled by the light
'Of your celestial eyes, open their leaves
'As when they entertain the lord of day:
'You bring them comfort, like the sun in May.'

I am inclined, for various reasons, to assign to Chettle the principal part of the authorship of *The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissell*, in which, however, there is no doubt, from Henslowe's MS., that Dekker and Haughton had some share. I apprehend that in this case, as in many others, joint authorship has been attributed to different poets who were not concerned in the production of a play at the same time. Thus, in the present instance, the first drama upon the well known story of Griselda may have been written by Chettle; and Dekker and Haughton, at a subsequent period, may have made additions to it, for the sake of giving it variety and novelty, and rendering it more popular when it was revived. It was printed anonymously in 1603, and on the title-page of one copy, sold not long since, was written, in a contemporary hand, 'By H. Chetill,' as if he alone were the writer of it.

Chettle and his coadjutors (if the term can be properly applied to them) managed their materials with no inconsiderable skill. The chief plot, of course, relates to the Marquis of Saluzzo and Griselda, but two underplots are interwoven with so much ingenuity, that while they serve to diversify the entertainment they aid the effect of the main story. There is one material difference between the characters of the

Marquis, as drawn by them, and as drawn by Petrarch, Boccacio, and Chaucer, viz., that in the play he is not induced to put Griselda to the test merely from a wanton curiosity on his part to learn the extent of her endurance and fidelity, but also by the complaints and remonstrances of his nobility against his choice and against the basely descended progeny to whom, after the death of the Marquis, they would be subjected. This mixed motive at least gives a greater degree of plausibility to his conduct. The most prominent of the underplots is that of a Welsh Knight and a Welsh Widow, whom he marries, and who is the counterpart of Griselda, being most perverse, arbitrary, and contradictory.

The principal characters are distinctly drawn and well contrasted, and the names of such as belong to the main story are nearly similar to those in Boccacio. Laureo, a poor scholar, brother to Grisell, is not wanted; but Babulo, the clown, is an amusing personage, though he in no way contributes to the advancement of the catastrophe.

I shall subjoin a few short extracts*. The play opens thus spiritedly, the Marquis and his followers entering as hunters, to the sound of horns—

'*Marq.* Look you so strange, my hearts, to see our limbs

* For the use of a copy of this very rare play, which is not in the Garrick Collection in the British Museum, I am indebted to the Duke of Devonshire.

'Thus suited in a hunter's livery?
'Ah, 'tis a lovely habit, when green youth,
'Like to the flow'ry blossom of the spring,
'Conforms his outward habit to his mind.
'Look how yon one-eyed waggoner of heaven
'Hath by his horse's fiery winged hoofs
'Burst ope the melancholy veil of night,
'And with his gilt beam's cunning alchemy
'Turn'd all those clouds to gold, who, with the winds
'Upon their misty shoulders, bring in day.
'Then sully not this morning with foul looks,
'But teach your jocund spirits to ply the chase,
'For hunting is a sport for emperors.'

When the Marquis sees Grisell, he exclaims very prettily—

'See where my Grissell and her father is.
'Methinks her beauty, shining through those weeds,
'Seems like a bright star in the sullen night.
'How lovely poverty dwells on her back!
'Did but the proud world note her as I do,
'She would cast off rich robes, forswear rich state,
'To clothe her in such poor habiliments.'

The following occurs near the conclusion, and after Grisell has been deprived of her children and reduced again to beggary. The Marquis brings home a very young bride and a youth from Padua, and requires Grisell, in her poor attire, to be present at his second marriage—

'*Marq.* How do you like my bride?
'*Gris.* I think her blest
'To have the love of such a noble lord.
'*Marq.* You flatter me.

'*Gris.* Indeed, I speak the truth:
'Only I prostrately beseech your grace,
'That you consider of her tender years,
'Which, as a flower in spring, may soon be nipp'd
'With the least frost of cold adversity.
'*Marq.* Why are not you then nipp'd? you still seem fresh,
'As if adversity's cold icy hand
'Had never laid his fingers on your heart.
'*Gris.* It never touch'd my heart: adversity
'Dwells still with them that dwell with misery;
'But mild content that eas'd me of that yoke:
'Patience hath borne the bruise and I the stroke....
'*Marq.* ... Nay then, I'll vex you more.
'Grissell, I will receive this second wife
'From none but from thy hands: come, give her me.
'*Gris.* I here present you with an endless bliss—
'Rich honour, beauteous virtue, virtuous youth.
'Long live my lord with her contentedly...
'*Marq.*... Grissell, receive
'Large interest for thy love and sufferance.
'Thou gav'st me this fair maid, I in exchange
'Return thee her, and this young gentleman—
'Thy son and daughter kiss with patience,
'And breathe thy virtuous spirit in their souls..
'Why stands my wronged Grissel thus amaz'd?
'*Gris.* Joy, fear, love, hate, hope, doubts encompass me.
'Are these my children I supposed slain?...
'*Marq.* They are, and I am thine. Lords, look not strange:
'These two are they at whose births envy's tongue
'Darted envenom'd stings: these are the fruit
'Of this most virtuous tree. That multitude,
'That many headed beast, nipp'd their sweet hearts

'With wrongs, with bitter wrongs; all you have wrong'd her:
'Myself have done most wrong, for I did try
'To break the temper of true constancy.
'But these whom all thought murder'd are alive!
'My Grissell lives, and in the book of fame
'All worlds in gold shall register her name.'

The play of *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* has reached us under nearly similar circumstances: according to Henslowe, Henry Chettle and John Day were concerned in it; but it was printed in 1659 in the name of the latter only, and presents nothing peculiarly deserving observation.

There is another extant play, in which Chettle certainly had a considerable share, his coadjutor being Anthony Munday: it is *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, printed in 1601, and sometimes called, by Henslowe, 'the second part of Robin Hood.' Here again we are met by the difficulty of determining the share which each author had in the production, although two hands are clearly to be traced in it. After reading Hoffman, little hesitation can be felt in assigning the description of the horrors of the death of Lady Bruce and her infant son, who are starved to death in a dungeon, to Chettle. This play was called *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, or the second part of Robin Hood, probably, in consequence of the success of the *Downfall*, or first part: the hero expires at the close of what may be considered Act i., and the rest of the piece is made up of the fate of

Lady Bruce and her child, and of the love of King John for Matilda.

Chettle and Munday having been connected as dramatic poets in the production last mentioned, it may be fit, in this place, to make some remarks upon the latter author. He was probably a writer for the stage considerably earlier than his coadjutor; for, having been born in 1553, we find him an author in 1579*. He visited Rome prior to 1578†, having been connected with the stage as an actor, if not as an author, before he went abroad. His first extant dramatic work was a translation‡, probably from the Italian, and it was called *The Two Italian Gentlemen:* whether it was ever acted we have no means of knowing, but it was ill calculated for representation, and could hardly have been popular. It was printed shortly after 1584, in which year it was entered on the Stationers' Books, under the title of *Fidele and Fortunatus* §: it is entirely in rhyme, as blank-verse had

* In this year he published his *Mirror of Mutability.*

† In a tract he printed in 1582, he mentions having seen Captain Stukely at Rome. This adventurer, the hero of Peele's play already noticed, was killed at the battle of Alcazar, in 1578.

‡ Yet it contains, as was not unusual in versions of the kind of that date, allusions to English popular superstitions: thus the following lines are put into the mouth of a comic personage:

'Ottomanus, Sophye, Turke, and the great Cham,
'Robin-goodfellowe, Hobgoblin, the devill and his dam.'

§ The entry is in these words, under date of Nov. 12, 1584. 'Fidele 'and Fortunatus. The Deceipts in Love discoursed in a Comedie of 'two Italian Gentlemen, and translated into English.' No more than two copies of this piece are known to exist—one without the title-page,

not then been generally adopted for dramatic purposes, and the lines are usually twelve-syllable alexandrines, such as the following:—

'Then let him be led through every street in the town,
'That every crack-rope may fling rotten eggs at the clown.'

One of the principal characters is Captain Crackstone, a cowardly pretender to courage, (common in the old Italian comedy,) who obtained some reputation in this country, as he is mentioned by Thomas Nash in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden*:— 'Yet for all he is such a vain Basilisco, and *Captain* '*Crackstone* in all his actions and conversation, and 'swarmeth in vile cannibal words, there is some good

and the other wanting also the dedication; but the running title to both is *The Two Italian Gentlemen*. The following is the Dedication, upon the initials subscribed to which depends the claim of Anthony Munday to be considered the translator: the letters belong to no other author of that period.

'To the worshipfull and very courteous Gentleman, Maister John 'Heardson, Esquier, A. M. commendeth this pleasaunt and fine 'conceited Comœdie.

'Woorshipful sir, my acquaintaunce with you is very little, which 'may impeach me of presumption in this mine attempt: but the good 'report of your affable nature to every one, giveth me hope to be enter-'tained amongst them. I commende to your freendly viewe this prettie 'conceit, as well for the invention, as the delicate conveiance thereof, 'not doubting but you will so esteeme thereof, as it dooth very well 'deserve, and I hartely desire. As for myselfe, your good construc-'tion will gather (I hope) the sum of my good will: which is more 'towards you then I will heere speake of, and therefore is left to your 'wonted favour to judge of. Your worship to his power—

'A. M.'

Had Munday been more than the translator, he would scarcely have spoken of the piece in the terms he has here employed.

'matter in his book against thee.' The dialogue is very poor, and the following song, though not good, is better than most other parts of the performance.

'If love be like the flower that in the night,
'When darkness drowns the glory of the skies,
'Smells sweet and glitters in the gazer's sight;
'But when the gladsome sun begins to rise,
'And he that views it would the same embrace,
'It withereth and loseth all his grace.

'Why do I love, and like the cursed tree,
'Whose buds appear, but fruit will not be seen?
'Why do I languish for the flower I see,
'Whose root is rot when all the leaves are green?
'In such a case, it is a point of skill
'To follow chance, and love against my will.'

Munday seems to stand in relation to *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, or 'the first part of Robin Hood,' precisely in the same situation as Chettle, in relation to *Patient Grissell:* he probably had written the original play, although, at a subsequent date, Chettle altered it for representation at court: his additions, however, could not be considerable, as it appears by Henslowe's Diary, that Chettle only received 10*s*. for making them. I shall therefore speak of *The Downfall,* as if it were the sole production of Munday. The earliest date at which it is mentioned by Henslowe in his Diary, is Feb. 1597-8, but the first appearance of the play may have been considerably earlier. The popular story is simply but picturesquely treated, and the author has used historical facts with little ceremony, when it suited his

purpose to pervert them. What may be called the sylvan portions of the play, are generally as fresh and green as the woods where the scene is laid; and some of the serious portions, though not so good, are well written, and the versification, which is interspersed with rhymes, by no means inharmonious. It is preceded by an 'induction,' in which Skelton and others are supposed to rehearse the piece prior to its performance before Henry VIII. Skelton also explains the dumb shows, which afford some slight evidence of the antiquity of the play.

It commences with the outlawry and banishment of Robin Hood, by the treachery of his steward: Queen Elinor is in love with Robin Hood, and Prince John with Matilda, and the latter, on the arrival of Robin and his merry men in Sherwood Forest, takes the name of Marian. On this occasion Robin Hood says:—

'Wind once more, jolly huntsmen, all your horns,
'Whose shrill sound, with the echoing woods' assist *,
'Shall ring a sad knell for the fearful deer,
'Before our feather'd shafts, death's winged darts,
'Bring sudden summons for their fatal ends.
'Give me thy hand: now God's curse on me light,
'If I forsake not grief in grief's despite.
'Much, make a cry, and yeomen stand ye round:
'I charge ye, never more let woeful sound
'Be heard among ye; but whatever fall
'Laugh grief to scorn, and so make sorrow small.
'Marian, thou seest, though courtly pleasures want,
'Yet country sport in Sherwood is not scant.

* See remarks, in pp. 216 and 218 of this Volume, regarding the use, by Lodge, of *repent* and *resist*, for *repentance* and *resistance*.

'For the soul-ravishing delicious sound
'Of instrumental music, we have found
'The winged quiristers, with divers notes,
'Sent from their quaint recording pretty throats,
'On every branch that compasseth our bower,
'Without command contenting us each hour.
'For arras hangings, and rich tapestry,
'We have sweet nature's best embroidery.
'For thy steel glass, wherein thou wont'st to look,
'Thy crystal eyes gaze on the crystal brook.
'At court, a flower or two did deck thy head,
'Now, with whole garlands it is circled;
'For what in wealth we want, we have in flowers,
'And what we lose in halls, we find in bowers.'

All this is exceedingly gay, lively, and appropriate to the scene; but the multiplication of rhymes shows that it was written before they had gone out of fashion. As this production, and its sequel, have been recently reprinted in a Continuation of *Dodsley's Old Plays* *, I shall not enter at all particularly into the plot, which, (after a good deal of variety, and change of scene from the court to the forest, and after several incidents adopted from the ballads regarding Robin Hood and his companions,) terminates with the return of Richard I. from the Holy Land, the restoration of Robin Hood to his title and estates, and the knitting up of all differences by his forgiveness of his repentant enemies, all of whom one by one had fallen into his hands, and were placed at his mercy.

Of fourteen plays (exclusive of *The Two Italian*

* Only one volume was printed in 1828, containing five of the best old plays in our language.

Gentlemen) in which Munday was concerned, between 1597 and 1603, there is but one other which is known to have been printed, viz., the first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle:* in this piece he was aided by Michael Drayton, Robert Wilson, and Richard Hathwaye. It was published in 1600, with the name of Shakespeare on the title-page, a decided proof (says Malone) that Shakespeare 'was entirely careless 'about literary fame, and could patiently endure to 'be made answerable for compositions which were not 'his own, without taking any means to undeceive the 'public.' It is unlucky for this assertion, that within the last few years, a copy of the first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* has been publicly sold without the name of Shakespeare on the title-page; as if, when he found that it had been falsely attributed to him, he had taken some 'means to undeceive the public *,' and had compelled the bookseller to reprint the first leaf of the play. The first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* is well known from Malone's Supplement.

Robert Wilson, mentioned above as a coadjutor with Drayton and others, was a dramatic author long before Shakespeare began to write for the stage †. His name frequently occurs in Henslowe's Diary; but,

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 330. A copy, without the name of Shakespeare on the title-page, is also in the dramatic library at Bridgewater House.

† On page 106 of this volume I omitted to state this fact; but Lodge tells us, in his *Defence of Plays*, in answer to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579, that Wilson had written a piece on the subject of the Conspiracy of Catiline. This must have been prior to 1580.

excepting his share in the first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, whatever that share might be, we have but one remaining specimen of his talents, and that far below the reputation he seems to have acquired. He is mentioned by Meres, in 1598, as one of 'the best for comedy,' and is coupled with Shakespeare, Chapman, Chettle, and others. The dramatic performance by him which is extant was printed as early as 1594, and bears his name only on the title-page: it is called *The Cobbler's Prophesy* *, and is a mass of absurdity without any leading purpose, but here and there exhibiting glimpses of something better. Robert Wilson was contemporary with Tarlton, and scarcely less celebrated, and, as we have seen, formed one of the Queen's company when it was selected from the players of her nobility in 1583.

The scene of *The Cobbler's Prophesy* is laid in Bœotia, which is represented to be ruled by a Duke, but in a state of confusion and disorganization, in consequence of the prevalence of Lust, figured under the shape of Venus, and of Contempt, who assumes the name of Content, and thus imposes upon many. In this respect it bears a resemblance to a Moral, for in the course of the piece, besides Contempt, Folly, Dalliance, Niceness, Newfangledness, &c. are personified. The prophecy relates to the birth of a child, begotten by Contempt upon Lust, called Ruina, and it is put into the mouth of a whimsical cobbler, named

* In 1595 was published, anonymously, *The Pedlar's Prophesy*, a production of much the same class, and possibly by the same author.

Ralph: as an excuse for this absurdity the author says—

'The Gods, when we refuse the common means,
'Sent them [us] by Oracles and learned priests,
'Raise up some man, contemptible and vile,
'In whom they breathe the pureness of their spirits,
'And make him bold to speak and prophesy.'

The heathen Gods and Goddesses, including Jupiter, Mars, Ceres, and the Muses, mix in the scene, and Mercury is a very principal agent: it is by his means that Ralph obtains the prophetic power, the chief object of which is to warn the Duke of the impending ruin of his state, unless he consents to introduce various reforms, and especially to unite the discordant classes of his subjects. The versification is varied—sometimes rhyme, in long and short lines—sometimes the principal characters use blank-verse—and sometimes rhyme and blank-verse are mixed, as in the following part of a dialogue between Contempt and Venus.

'*Cont.* Away, thou strumpet! scandal of the world,
'Cause of my sorrow, author of my shame!
'Follow me not, but wander where thou wilt
'In uncouth places, loathed of the light,
'Fit shroud to hide thy lustful body in,
'Whose fair 's distain'd with foul adulterous sin.
'*Ven.* Ah, my Contempt! prove not so much unkind
'To fly and leave thy love alone behind.
'I will go with thee into hollow caves,
'To deserts, to the dens of furious beasts;
'I will descend with thee unto the grave.
'Look on me, love; let me some comfort have.'

The performance does not merit any more particular criticism.

DANIEL, LADY PEMBROKE, AND BRANDON.

THERE were but three English poets, shortly before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, who by the example of their writings, opposed the progress of the romantic drama, and adhered to the forms, at least, of the classic stage of Greece and Rome. These were Samuel Daniel, the Countess of Pembroke, and Samuel Brandon. Daniel wrote only two plays, *Cleopatra* and *Philotas:* the last was certainly performed, and as certainly not the first; and there is also no ground for supposing that Lady Pembroke's Tragedy of *Antony*, or Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* were ever represented on the stage. As they belong to a separate school of the drama, it will be necessary to notice them briefly; but the more briefly, because two of the four pieces above named were not printed until Shakespeare had been for some years a writer for the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

Daniel was unquestionably one of the most skilful versifiers of his day, and in general his pen was guided by good taste, and by just if not strong feeling: although appointed to superintend the performances of the children of the Queen's Revels, on the accession of James I., he was a decided opponent of the romantic drama, which had then long flourished on

our stage. In the 'Apology' subsequently appended to his *Philotas*, and not printed with the first edition in 1605, he speaks of the 'idle fictions' and 'gross follies,' with which 'men's recreations were abused' at the theatres. In the address to the Countess of Pembroke, before his *Cleopatra*, 1594, he also complains of the 'barbarism' of the time, and alludes to the manner in which Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Apology of Poetry*, had resisted its progress. As early as 1592 he said that his verse 'respected nor Thames nor Theatres *,' and his style is peculiarly undramatic, in-

* This expression occurs in one of the Sonnets in his '*Delia: Con-taining certaine Sonnets: with the Complaynt of Rosamond.* 1592, at 'London. Printed by J. C., for S. Watersonn:' dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke. No attempt has been made to ascertain who was meant by Delia; but in the 'Complaint of Rosamond' he tells us, by way of apostrophe, that 'she adorned the West;' and in the Sonnet above quoted he informs us, that she dwelt on 'Avon, poor in fame and poor in waters.' This therefore was before the reputation of Shakespeare had made that river for ever memorable; and the line may be taken as a slight proof of our great dramatist's little notoriety in 1592. A copy of Daniel's '*Delia*,' of 1592 (a most rare and beautiful edition which Ritson never saw), is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire: in the later impressions the poet made many alterations, and some of the Sonnets he entirely changed, with more than the usual fastidiousness of authorship. He, besides, omitted two Sonnets, for what reason it would be vain to conjecture: they are certainly worth preserving, and I therefore, without apology, subjoin them. The first is without title: the initials, M. P., at the head of the last, no doubt stand for *Mary* Countess of *Pembroke*.

'Oft and in vaine my rebell thoughts have ventred
'To stop the passage of my vanquisht hart,
'And shut those waies my friendly foe first entred,
'Hoping thereby to free my better part.

asmuch as it wants the vivacity and force that ought to belong to dialogue between living characters.

Daniel's numerous works went through many editions, containing material variations: the most correct, and probably with the author's last emendations, was printed in 4to., in 1623, under the superintendence of

'And whilst I garde these windowes of this forte,
'Where my hart's thiefe to vexe me made her choice,
'And thether all my forces doe transport,
'An other passage opens at her voice.
'Her voice betrayes me to her hand and eye,
'My freedome's tyrants, conquering all by arte;
'But, ah! what glory can she get thereby,
'With three such powers to plague one silly hart?
'Yet, my soule's soveraigne, since I must resigne,
'Raigne in my thoughts—my love and life are thine.'

TO M. P.

'Like as the spotlesse Ermelin distrest,
'Circumpass'd round with filth and lothsome mud,
'Pines in her griefe, imprisoned in her nest,
'And cannot issue forth to seeke her good;
'So I, inviron'd with a hatefull want,
'Looke to the heavens, the heavens yielde forthe no grace,
'I search the earth, the earth I find as skant,
'I view my selfe, my selfe in wofull case.
'Heaven nor earth will not, my selfe cannot worke
'A way through want to free my soule from care;
'But I must pine, and in my pining lurke,
'Least my sad lookes bewray me how I fare.
'My fortune mantled with a clowde s' obscure,
'Thus shades my life so long as wants endure.'

I have in my possession an edition of 1592, which accords with the title given by Ritson (*Bibl. Poet.* 179); but it is clearly the second, and an entirely different impression. It contains the first of the preceding Sonnets, but not the second. The whole number of Sonnets is fifty, after which is inserted 'An Ode,' and it is followed by 'The Complaint of Rosamond.'

the poet's brother John Daniel; who, in 1618, assigned to Martin Slatier, and others, the patent he had obtained three years before for raising a juvenile company of actors *. In this volume, *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* are both included, and from it I shall quote, in preference to the older copies.

It is not my intention to enter into a discussion of the construction of pieces of this class, which, under the supposition that delusion exists, endeavour to adhere to the ancient unities of time, place, and action. Daniel's *Cleopatra* only relates to the last few hours of her life, and he well preserves the dignity of his heroine in her sorrow: her grief is never otherwise than queen-like, and her deportment overawes the insolence of her adversaries. Perhaps the most pathetic passage in the play is the following, and yet it is rather a philosophical observation than an appeal to the heart—Cleopatra is speaking—

'Oh Cæsar, see how easy 'tis t'accuse
'Whom fortune hath made faulty by their fall:
'The wretched conquered may not refuse
'The titles of reproach he's charg'd withal.
'The conquering cause hath right, wherein thou art;
'The vanquish'd still is judg'd the worser part.'

The death of Cleopatra is related by a Nuntius, with a tedious detail of unimportant and unaffecting circumstances: the following simile, applied to this event, has little but tolerable felicity of expression to recommend it:—

* Vide Annals of the Stage, i. 411. Samuel Daniel died in 1619.

'Look how a mother at her son's departing
'For some far voyage, bent to get him fame,
'Doth entertain him with an idle parting,
'And still doth speak, and still speaks but the same;
'Now bids farewell, and now recals him back,
'Tells what was told, and bids again farewell,
'And yet again recals, for still doth lack
'Something that love would fain, and cannot tell;
'Pleas'd he should go, yet cannot let him go:
'So she, although she knew there was no way
'But this, yet this she could not handle so,
'But she must show that life desir'd delay.'

Philotas was a later production, not printed until 1605, and not written (or at least not completed) until after the execution of the Earl of Essex, to whose fate, Daniel tells us in his 'Apology,' it had when acted been unfairly applied. He states also that he had been 'driven by necessity to make use of his pen, 'and the stage to be the mouth of his lines, which 'before were never heard to speak but in silence,' and that his intention had been entirely misunderstood *.

* He seems to allude to the same point, in the Epistle to Prince Henry, which was published with the first edition of *Philotas*, and continued subsequently: after speaking of himself as an old man, 'the remnant of another time,' he pathetically observes:—

'And therefore, since I have outliv'd the date
'Of former grace, acceptance, and delight,
'I would my lines, late borne beyond the fate
'Of her spent line, had never come to light:
'So had I not been tax'd for wishing well,
'Nor now mistaken by the censuring stage;
'Nor in my fame and reputation fell,
'Which I esteem more than what all the age
'Or the earth can give; but years have done this wrong,
'Tomake me write too much, and live too long.'

We may fairly conclude, that *Philotas* was unsuccessful; and, compared with the popular dramas of that period, we cannot be surprised at its fate. It was, no doubt, performed by the children of the Queen's Revels, at the Blackfriars Theatre, where Shakespeare's plays were often represented by the King's servants.

Although Daniel wrote 'an Apology for Rhyme*,' and although his earliest play was composed with strict observance of the jingle, in *Philotas* he has in a degree changed his system, and has at intervals interspersed passages of blank-verse. He usually confines his blank-verse to the inferior personages, but in one or two instances he makes Alexander use it. The following is a specimen from Act iii., after Dymnus, (the author of the plot that had been communicated to Philotas,) has stabbed himself, and has died in the presence of the king. Alexander observes—

'Sorry I am for that, for now hath death
'Shut us clean out from knowing him within,
'And lock'd up in his breast all th' others' hearts:
'But yet this deed argues the truth in gross,
'Though we be barr'd it in particular.—
'Philotas, are you come? Look here: this man,
'This Ceballinus should have suffered death,
'Could it have been prov'd he had conceal'd
'Th' intended treason from us these two days;
'Wherewith, he says, he straight acquainted thee.

* It was reprinted in 1815 by Mr. Haslewood, from the 8vo. edition of 1603, which he seems to have considered the earliest; but it was first published in 1602, folio.

'Think, the more near thou art about ourself,
'The greater is the shame of thine offence,
'And which had been less foul in him than thee.'

Daniel's blank-verse is never better than this specimen, which shows that he was by no means master of that branch of his art.

The Countess of Pembroke's tragedy of *Antony* only professes to be a translation. It was from Garnier, and although the play was not printed until 1595, it was written in 1590 *, and it is mentioned by Daniel as having preceded his *Cleopatra*. The most remarkable feature of Lady Pembroke's work is that all the principal speeches are in blank-verse, so that it is an early attempt in that kind. The opening of the performance may be taken as a fair specimen of her qualifications: the lines are spoken by the hero—

'Since cruel heaven's against me obstinate,
'Since all mishaps of the round engine do
'Conspire my harm; since men, since powers divine,
'Air, earth, and sea are all injurious;
'And that my queen herself, in whom I liv'd,
'The idol of my heart, doth me pursue,
'It's meet I die. For her have I foregone
'My country, Cæsar unto war provok'd,
'(For just revenge of sister's wrong, my wife,
'Who mov'd my queen, aye me! to jealousy,)
'For love of her, in her allurements caught,
'Abandon'd life, I honour have despis'd,
'Disdain'd my friends, and of the stately Rome

* At the end is the following date, 'At Rainsbury, 26th November 1590.' It is said to have been printed in 4to. in 1595; but I have never met with any but the 12mo. edition of that year.

'Despoil'd the empire of her best attire;
'Contemn'd that power that made me so much fear'd,
'A slave become unto her feeble face.
'O, cruel traitress, woman most unkind!
'Thou dost, forsworn, my love and life betray,
'And giv'st me up to rageful enemy,
'Which soon (oh fool!) will plague thy perjury.'

It must be owned that this is rather rugged, constrained, and inverted, but some portion of its defects may be attributed to the extremely close adherence of the noble translator to her text. The choruses, in various lyrical measures, are usually well rendered.

Samuel Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia*, 1598*, also owes its fable to the varied fortunes of Mark Antony. It takes them up at an earlier period, and the scene is laid entirely in Rome; but the unities of time and action are nevertheless lost sight of, because in the earlier scenes Octavius Cæsar is represented in his capital, and before the conclusion of the play he has been victorious at Actium. Brandon is not known to have been the author of any other production, yet his versification is generally harmonious and polished, although, like that of Daniel, it wants force and energy. In one respect he is decidedly superior to that poet: Daniel was an enemy to innovations in language, but Brandon, with very considerable success, introduced into English some of the Greek compound epithets. George Chapman's Seven Books of the Iliad and his translation of the description of

* There is no copy of this production in the Garrick collection, and I am again indebted to the library of the Duke of Devonshire.

Achilles' Shield, both printed in 1598, might have set him the example in this respect. I say only that it might have set him the example, because, perhaps, the credit of first introducing them may be due to Brandon, whose drama was printed in the same year. In Chapman's translation *, we find 'bright-footed Thetis,'

* I have unwillingly refrained from giving some account of the dramatic works and poetical character of Chapman, because he clearly did not write for the stage until after Shakespeare had established his reputation. He probably did not attempt dramatic poetry until comparatively late in life, for the earliest notice of any piece by him is 1598; and, in 1605, he tells Sir Thomas Walsingham (in a sonnet prefixed to only a few copies of his *All Fools*, which, it has been shown, was written in 1599) that he was 'mark'd by age for aims of greater weight.' Having been born about 1557, he was some years senior to our great dramatist, and his family seems to have been respectably settled at Hitchin, Hertfordshire. One member of it, Thomas Chapman, in 1619 petitioned Prince Charles for the Bailiwick of Hitchin, which the petitioner had formerly possessed under the Exchequer Seal, but of which the Earl of Salisbury had deprived him; and, on the 30th of November of that year, the claim was referred to the Commissioners of the revenue of the Prince of Wales (*Vide* Harl. MSS. No. 781). George Chapman, the poet, was a man of a fine, high-toned, vigorous mind, full of imagination, but wanting the lighter ornaments of fancy. Some of these graces he seems to have endeavoured to obtain from foreign sources, and of this there is remarkable proof in a beautiful passage of the comedy abovementioned—*All Fools*. Valerio says—

'I tell thee, love is Nature's second sun,
'Causing a spring of virtues where he shines:
'And, as without the sun, the world's great eye,
'All colours, beauties both of art and nature,
'Are given in vain to men; so without love
'All beauties bred in women are in vain,
'All virtues bred in men lie buried;
'For love informs them as the sun doth colours.'

'man-making gold,' 'fortune-glossed pompists,' and some more; and in Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* we meet with 'pearl-dropping showers,' 'sceptre-bearing hands,' 'sun-bright beams,' 'earth-ruling powers,' 'terror-breeding crown,' and others equally forcible and felicitous. He is sometimes guilty of wordy amplifications to express a simple fact, as in the following four lines, meant to state merely that it was evening—

The whole thought and some of the expressions are here borrowed from a madrigal by Andrea Navagero, which is inserted in Domenichi's Collection of *Rime Diverse*, Venice, 1546, beginning—

'*Leggiadre donne, che quella bellezza,*
'*Che natura vi diede, &c.*'

which may be thus rendered in English—

'Sweet ladies, to whose lovely faces,
'Nature gives charms, indeed,
'If those you would exceed,
'And are desirous, too, of inward graces;

'Ye must first ope the heart's enclosure,
'And give love entrance there:
'If not, ye must despair
'Of what ye hope, and bear it with composure.

'For as the night than day is duller,
'And what is hid by night
'Glitters with morning light
'In all the rich variety of colour;

'So they whose dark insensate bosoms
'Love lights not, ne'er can know
'The virtues thence that grow,
'Wanting love's beams to open virtue's blossoms.'

Chapman is, however, generally very original, and his two dramas, *The Conspiracy* and *The Tragedy of the Duke of Byron*, are noble poems, full of fine thoughts, and rich in diversity and strength of expression. As pieces intended for the stage, they, perhaps, want action and variety.

'It was the time when the declining sun
'Made greatest show of least performed light,
'And by his swift departure had begun
'To yield his interest to th' encroaching night.'

Brandon's characters are feebly drawn, and the heroine is a poor vacillating woman, distracted between her love for Antony, and her desire of revenge for his infidelity with Cleopatra. Some of the best lines are those which open the tragedy, where, in her grief, Octavia converts even the beauties of nature to sources of unhappiness—

'Camilla, now methinks this golden time
'Invites our minds to bathe in streams of joy:
'See how the earth doth flourish in his prime,
'Whose livery shows the absence of annoy.
'These woods, how they, bedeck'd with nature's pride,
'Show inward touch of new conceived mirth.
'The pretty birds that in their coverts hide
'(Free citizens, even happy from their birth)
'How they rejoice! and every senseless thing
'Even smiles with joy. The earth perfumes the air,
'The air sweet nectar to the earth doth bring,
'And both with joy beget these children fair.
'How richly nature doth her wealth enrobe,
'Giving each thing his beauty, form and grace...
'Yet this same earth, with new-born beauties grac'd,
'Doth say, methinks, in his dumb eloquence
'Thus shall you spring, 'mongst heavenly angels plac'd,
'When death's cold winter once hath snatch'd you hence.
'These flowers do bid us with their language read
'In beauty's books how beauty is most frail,
'Whose youthful pride th' untimely steps doth tread
'To death's black kingdom, dark oblivion's vale.
'These, nature's quiristers, do plainly say,

'Waste thus your time in setting forth his praise,
'Who feeds, who clothes, who fills our hearts with joy,
'And from this dead earth doth our bodies raise.
'Thus all their mirth are accents of our moan;
'Their blissful state of our unhappiness:
'A perfect map, where only we alone
'May see our good, but never it possess.'

There is an obvious impropriety in putting some of these sentiments into the mouth of a Pagan.

The lyrical measures of the choruses run like the lines of a practised poet: the author thus apostrophises the female sex at the close of Act i.—

'Dwell in fame's living breath,
'T'eternity resign'd,
'Ye fair Mars-conquering wights,
'And fear not Lethe's flood.
'Your virtues always bud;
'Your story honour writes,
'And, phœnix-like, you find
'A new life in your death.
'Arm but your angel souls
'With perfect virtue's shield,
'That Thanatos controls
'And makes Erynnis yield,
'Then shall the heavens your worth descry,
'Earth sing your praise, and so will I.'

The plot is most uninterestingly and languidly conducted, and the speeches, as is usual in plays constructed upon the same model, infinitely too long, and totally unimpassioned. The catastrophe is merely the defeat of Anthony, and the author seems to call his work a 'tragicomedy,' because the heroine survives her misfortunes.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

OLD THEATRES

OF

LONDON.





THE THEATRE.

MALONE declared himself 'unable to ascertain the situation of *The Theatre* *,' as it is called by way of distinction in many old productions. Chalmers tells us that 'it was probably situated in the Blackfriars, out of the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction †;' and throughout he treats the Theatre, as if it were only another name for the Blackfriars play-house. This is an important error.

The Theatre was situated in Shoreditch; and had either Malone or Chalmers consulted the first impression of Stow's *Survey of London*, 1599, instead of subsequent editions, they could not have failed to make the discovery. Stow speaks of the suburbs of London without the walls, and particularly of the Priory of St. John Baptist at Holywell, surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1539, and then adds the following: 'The 'church therof being pulled downe, many houses 'have bene there builded for the lodgings of noble-'men, of straungers borne, and other. And neare 'thereunto are builded *two publique houses*, for the 'acting and shewe of Comedies, Tragedies, and His-'tories, for recreation. Whereof the one is called

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 53. † Apology, 402.

'*the Courtein*, the other *the Theatre*, both standing 'on the southwest side towards the field.' The passage varies slightly from Stow's original MSS. of his collections for this work, which are preserved in the British Museum *; and as the point is new, it may be worth while to quote from his own hand-writing:— 'This Church (he says, referring to the Priory of St. 'John Baptist) being pulled downe, many howses 'hath bene there builded for the lodgynge of noble- 'men, of straungers borne, and others; and namely 'neare adjoyning are builded two howses for the 'shewe of activities, comodies, tragidies, and his- 'tories, for recreation; the one of them is named the 'Curteyn in holy well, the other the Theatre: these 'are on the back syde of holy well, towards the filde.' In the margin opposite are the words, 'Theatar and Curtain at holy well.'

The principal variation is the omission of the word 'activities' in the printed copy, as if, in the interval between the writing and the publishing of his *Survey*, Stow had learnt that feats of activity, such as tumbling, vaulting, and rope-dancing, were not exhibited at the Theatre nor at the Curtain: we may, perhaps, therefore conclude, that prior to 1599, the companies acting at those two places confined themselves to tragedies, comedies, and histories. It will be observed, that both were beyond the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor.

Malone justly remarks, that 'the Theatre, from its

* Harl. MSS., No. 538.

'name, was probably the first building erected in or 'near the metropolis purposely for scenic exhibitions*;' but he supplies no information as to the period to which its existence could be traced. As Chalmers uniformly confounded it with the Blackfriars, of course, no intelligence on the point could be expected from him. I am able to show that it was in existence in 1576, because it is mentioned by name in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, first published in that year. 'Those (says Lambarde) who go to Paris Garden, the 'Bell Savage, or *Theatre*, to behold bear-baiting, in-'terludes, or fence-play, must not account of any 'pleasant spectacle, unless first they pay one penny at 'the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and a 'third for quiet standing †.'

The Bell Savage is known to have been an inn-yard, only temporarily applied to the performance of plays; and the mention, in the above quotation, of 'the Theatre' only, would tend to show that 'the Curtain,' which was near it, was not then constructed, or it perhaps would also have been inserted. Thus we see that there was a regular place devoted to the performance of plays, at least as early as 1576.

The next notice I find of 'the Theatre' is contained in John Northbrooke's *Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Vain Plays, or Interludes*, which was licensed to be printed in 1577, and was therefore at that date ready for the press, although not published

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 53.

† See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, 227, edit. 4to., 1810.

until perhaps two years afterwards. It is a dialogue between Youth and Age, the former asking the latter, among other things, his opinion of 'stage-players 'and enterludes, which are now practised amongst us 'so universally in towne and country;' an expression which shows the extent to which dramatic representations were then carried. Age, in reply, inveighs warmly against '*Histriones*, or rather *Histrices*, which 'play upon Scaffoldes and Stages, enterludes and 'comedies;' and Youth calls upon him to descend to particulars:—'Do you speake (he asks) against those 'places also which are made up and builded for such 'playes and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtain 'is, and other such like places besides?' Age answers in the affirmative; and hence we may infer, that there were more regular playhouses at that time, than the Theatre and the Curtain.

Malone has himself cited the next authority in point of date regarding this playhouse—John Stockwood's Sermon at Paul's Cross, on 24th August, 1578—and it is singular that the very terms that zealous puritan uses should not have led Malone to discover that the Theatre was in the fields: Stockwood, speaking of players, says so in express terms:—'Have we not houses of 'purpose, built with great charges, for the main-'tenance of them, and that without the liberties, as 'who shall say, There, let them say what they will, 'we will play? I know not how I might, with 'the godly-learned especially, more discommend the 'gorgeous playing place erected *in the fields*, than

'to term it, as they please to have it called, a '*Theatre.*'

Our older writers against dramatic representations usually couple the Theatre and Curtain in the same sentence: thus John Field, in his *Godly Exhortation* on the accident at Paris Garden, in January, 1582-3, mentions 'the Theatre, the Curtain, and such like,' and Philip Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583*, calls upon his readers to 'mark the flocking and 'running to Theatres and Curtains daily and hourly, 'night and day, time and tide, to see plays and 'interludes.' Recorder Fleetwood, giving an account to Lord Burghley of some disturbances in and near London in 1584, relates that an apprentice had been assaulted 'very near the Theatre or Curtain †,' which of itself shows their vicinity. It may be remarked also, as a slight additional proof that the Theatre was more ancient than the Curtain, that the former almost invariably has precedence in the sentence.

The last observation will apply also to an expression in Nash's *Martin's Month's Mind*, 1589, where he states that better mirth may be had for a penny 'at the Theatre and Curtain, and any blind playing-house every day.' Another part of this tract is important to our present inquiry on a different account, inasmuch as it shows that at the time it was written a company of players, under the celebrated John Lane-

* Stubbes was also author of *A Motive to Good Works*, 8vo. 1593, written during the plague of that year, of which I have never seen any other copy than that in my hands. It contains no allusion to plays.

† See the Annals of the Stage, vol. i. p. 258.

ham, then had possession of the Theatre: Nash tells us that he had learnt 'twattling tales' of Sir Jeffrey's Ale Tub, and of Gammer Gurton's Needle 'in alehouses, and at the Theatre, of Lanam and his fellows.' Laneham, as has been seen in the Annals of the Stage, was chosen one of the Queen's players in 1583.

After the year 1598, we hear little of the Theatre; and the satirical author of *Skialetheia, the Shadow of Truth*, printed with that date, informs us that it was then abandoned—

> ——————'But see yonder
> 'One, like the unfrequented Theatre,
> 'Walks in dark silence and vast solitude.'

It was most likely merely a wooden erection, and in twenty years it might have become untenantable.

THE CURTAIN.

HAD the Curtain existed at as early a date as the Theatre, it would, perhaps, (as before observed) have been mentioned with the latter, by Lambarde, in 1576, instead of the Bell-Savage, which was only a temporary stage in an inn-yard. The very circumstance of the adaptation of inn-yards to the purpose seems to have given the name of 'yard,' in public theatres, to the space in front and on each side of the platform on which the actors exhibited.

The Curtain, as has been seen, was mentioned by Northbrooke in 1577, and he speaks of it as a place

of common resort at that date: we may, therefore, take it that it was erected about 1576; and we are to recollect that it was in 1575 that the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London expelled the players from the City. The Blackfriars theatre, as will be shown when I speak of that play-house, had its origin in this expulsion; and it is extremely probable that the Curtain was erected at the same time, and for the same cause, beyond the limits of the authority of the Lord Mayor, but in a populous neighbourhood.

The name of the Theatre having been appropriated by the play-house in the immediate vicinity of the spot on which the Curtain was founded, the latter seems to have taken its appellation from what must have been a principal feature in every regular place of dramatic exhibition—the separation of the audience from the actors by a cloth, which opened in the centre and drew from side to side by means of rings running upon a rod. Steevens was of opinion that a striped curtain was the sign hung out at this theatre, and if so we may suppose that it corresponded with the curtain drawn before the stage on the inside, but here we are entirely without evidence. It seems never to have been known by any other name than 'The Curtain,' and by it it is mentioned by Stockwood in 1578, by Stubbes in 1583, and by various later authorities. We have no information what body of players was in possession of the Curtain soon after its construction, nor, indeed, until after James I. came to the crown, when the players of Prince Henry acted there: as nothing

is said of its having at all recently come into their hands, we may conjecture that they had held it for some time. Until the accession of James I. they had called themselves the Earl of Nottingham's servants, with whom Philip Henslowe was intimately connected: however, as he does not mention the Curtain theatre in his account-book, in a single instance, although it commences in 1591, we are probably warranted in concluding that he had no share in the property of that house. It has been shown in the 'Annals of the Stage' (I. 314), that in May, 1601, the company at 'the Curtain in Moorfields' had incurred the displeasure of the public authorities by personalities in their plays, and by representing, 'under obscure manner,' 'gentlemen of good descent and quality *.'

* Thomas Heywood, a member of the company, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, admits the truth of the accusation against the stage generally; and he adds, particularly, that the attacks upon individuals have been made by the mouths of children, alluding probably to the Children of Paul's and the Queen's Revels:—'Now to speak of some abuse 'lately crept into the quality, as an inveighing against the state, the 'court, the law, the city and their governments, with the particularizing 'of private men's humours, (yet alive,) noblemen and others: I know 'it distastes many, neither do I any way approve it, nor dare I by any 'means excuse it,' &c. I may take this opportunity of noticing what Heywood says, in the same tract, of the principal comic actors of his time, and before it. Knell, Bentley, Miles, Wilson, Crosse and Lanam he says he never had seen, 'being before my time,' but he speaks of Tarleton more particularly, although he was dead in 1588. With Gabriel Singer, Pope, Phillips and Sly he had been contemporary, although they had died prior to the time when he wrote. He especially mentions 'one yet alive, the most worthy famous Maister 'Edward Alleyn,' who either had retired, or was just retiring from the stage, in 1612. In the re-publication of this tract, 'printed by G.E. for 'W[illiam] C'[artwright] without date, a paragraph is added respecting the foundation of Dulwich College.

On the erection of the Fortune, in Golden Lane, in 1599, the Puritans made representations to the Privy Council against the increase of play-houses; and in order to satisfy them, in June 1600, it was made a condition, if the Fortune were finished, that the Curtain should be 'ruined and plucked down, or put to some other good use.' Nevertheless the condition was never complied with—the Fortune was built, and the Curtain was still used for the performance of plays. The pieces represented there seem to have been of such a character as to become almost proverbial: thus G. Wither, in his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613, adverting to a low class of rhymers, calls them—

——'base fellows, whom mere time
'Hath made sufficient to bring forth a rhyme,
'A Curtain Jig, a libel, or a ballad.'

A jig, however, strictly speaking, as will be shown hereafter, was a particular species of buffoonery, in which the actors of parts of low and coarse humour exhibited. Heath, in an Epigram, in 1610, quoted by Malone *, speaks of the Globe, the Fortune, and the Curtain as if they were much upon a level: he is supposing a stage-struck blockhead coming to London to qualify himself to act 'the fool's part in a play'—

——'no day can pass
'But that some play-house still his presence has:
'Now at the Globe, with a judicious eye
'Into the Vice's action doth he pry:

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 54.

'Next to the Fortune, where it is a chance
'But he marks something worth his cognizance:
'Then to the Curtain, where, as at the rest,
'He notes that action down that likes him best.'

In 1615, Wentworth Smith's play, called *Hector of Germany*, was performed at the Curtain, by some 'young men of the city,' as if the house were not then employed by any regular company of comedians. Malone, on the authority of Sir H. Herbert's office-book, states that in 1622 the Curtain was still open, and that it was occupied by the theatrical servants of Prince Charles, as it had previously been by those of Prince Henry *. In *Vox Graculi, or the Jack Daw's Prognostication* for 1623, the Curtain is specially mentioned as if it were a theatre of some reputation, where new plays were then brought out:—'About 'this time new plays will be in more request than old, 'and if company come current to the Bull and Cur-'tain, there will be more money gathered in one 'afternoon, than will be given to Kingsland Spittle in 'a whole month.' The Curtain seems to have fallen into disuse about the commencement of the reign of Charles I., and Malone states (without citing his authority) that it was soon employed only for the exhibitions of prize fighters †.

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 59. † Ibid. iii. 54.

THE BLACKFRIARS THEATRE.

THE Blackfriars Theatre was built in the year 1576, by James Burbage, or Burbadge, and his fellows, who on the 10th of May, 1574, had obtained a licence from the Queen, as servants of the Earl of Leicester. In the 'Annals of the Stage' (i. 276.) it has been shown that this undertaking within the Liberties of the Blackfriars arose out of the order of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, in 1575, expelling all players from the limits of their jurisdiction *.

With this fact Malone was unacquainted, and he observes merely that it was 'certainly built before 1580 †.' From its earliest date, it was probably a joint speculation between the Earl of Leicester's players, and the children of the Chapel, and the title-page of Lily's *Alexander and Campaspe*, printed in 1584, states that it was played by 'her Majesty's Children,' and it is preceded by a 'Prologue at the Blackfriars.'

* Prior to May, 1580, and perhaps with a view to the ultimate expulsion of Players, the Lord Mayor had claimed a jurisdiction in 'the precinct of the late dissolved Monastery of the Blackfriars.' This claim was referred to the two Chief Justices; but on the 15th of May, 1580, an order was made by the Privy Council, setting forth that the Chief Justices had not yet been able duly to examine into the merits of the case, and ordering, therefore, that matters should 'remain *in statu quo* 'prius, and that the Lord Mayor should not intermeddle in any cause 'within the said Liberties, saving for the punishment of felons, as 'heretofore he hath done.' See Lansdown MSS., No. 155.

† Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 46.

The first notice of its existence in any printed tract yet discovered, is contained in Stephen Gosson's *Plays confuted in five Actions*, published without date about 1581, or 1582, where he speaks of *Cupid and Psyche*, performed at St. Paul's, 'and a great many 'comedies more at the Blackfriars, and in every play-'house in London.'

In 1596, the Blackfriars theatre was repaired, and considerably enlarged, and a representation was made to the Privy Council, by some of the principal inhabitants of the Liberty, in order to prevent the completion of the undertaking. It produced a petition from the players of the Lord Chamberlain, Hemings, Pope, R. Burbage, Kempe, Phillips, Shakespeare, and Tooley, to the Lords of the Council, and it is matter of inference that no obstruction was thrown in their way by the public authorities, as we afterwards find the performances continued there: Ben Jonson's *Case is Altered* was acted in 1599, 'by the Children of the Blackfriars,' (so the children of the Chapel were called, on the title-page of the play, in 1609, from the house at which they ordinarily acted,) and in 1600 they produced his *Cynthia's Revels*. The same author's *Poetaster* was played by them at Blackfriars, in 1601; but when James I. came to the Crown, the company changed its name, in consequence of a royal patent, to that of 'the children of her Majesty's Revels,' and in that capacity they represented, among other plays, Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, prior to 1607, when it was first printed.

Malone was at some loss to account for this joint possession of the Blackfriars playhouse by the King's servants, (as the players of the Lord Chamberlain were called on the accession of James,) and by the children of the Queen's Revels. He was not aware of the existence of the patent, granted to the latter at the opening of the reign of the successor of Elizabeth, authorising them to perform 'within the Blackfriars;' and all difficulty is easily removed by supposing that while the King's servants were performing at the Globe *, on the Bankside, in the summer, the Blackfriars was occasionally occupied by the children of the Queen's Revels. Accordingly we find T. M. (supposed to be the initials of Thomas Middleton,) in a tract called *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1604, speaking of both theatres as open at the same time: he says of an Inn-of-Court gallant, that 'his eating must 'be in some famous tavern, the Horn, the Mitre †, or

* It is to be observed, that in the Patent of May, 1603, the Globe theatre only is mentioned, probably because the King's servants had then only a divided tenancy of the Blackfriars: but when James I. granted the new licence of 27th March, 1619, the King's servants were in the sole possession of the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres, and they are termed 'their now usual houses, called the Globe, within 'our Countie of Surrey, and their private house, situate in the precinct 'of the Blackfriers, within our city of London.'

† The Mitre and Mermaid were celebrated taverns which the poets, wits, and gallants were accustomed to visit. Mr. Thorpe, the enterprising Bookseller of Bedford-street, is in possession of a MS. full of songs and poems, in the hand-writing of a person of the name of Richard Jackson, all copied prior to the year 1631, and including many

'the Mermaid, and then after dinner he must venture 'beyond sea; that is, in a choice pair of noblemen's oars 'to the *Bank-side*, where he must sit out the break- 'ing up of a comedy, or the first act of a tragedy: or 'rather, if his humour serve him, call in at the *Black- 'friars*, where he should see a *nest of boys* able to 'ravish a man.' Marston's *Malecontent*, 1604, was acted at the Blackfriars by the King's servants, and *Eastward Ho!* 1605, by the children of her Majesty's Revels. Shortly after 1609, when the latter performed Ben Jonson's *Epicœne*, they removed to the White-friars Theatre.

The King's servants continued in possession of the Blackfriars at the time of the dreadful catastrophe, which happened in the adjoining house, in 1623, when nearly one hundred persons were killed. It was in use as a theatre by the King's servants, in June, 1625, when King Charles renewed his father's patent

unpublished pieces, by a variety of celebrated poets. One of the most curious is a song in five seven-line stanzas, thus headed:—

'Shakespeare's rime which he made at the Mytre in Fleete Streete.'

It begins 'From the rich Lavinian shore;' and some few of the lines were published by Playford, and set as a catch. Another, shorter piece, is called in the margin,

'SHAKESPEARE'S RIME.

'Give me a cup of rich Canary wine,
'Which was the Mitre's [*drinks*] and now is mine;
'Of which had Horace and Anacreon tasted,
'Their lives as well as lines 'till now had lasted.'

I have little doubt that the lines are genuine, as well as many other songs and poems attributed to Ben Jonson, Sir W. Raleigh, H. Constable, Dr. Donne, J. Sylvester, and others.

of 1619, and in the same terms as far as regards the two 'usuall houses,' the Globe and the Blackfriars.

In the Induction to his *Magnetic Lady*, played at Blackfriars in 1632, Ben Jonson speaks of the 'very mean plays' that had of late been brought out there; but there is good ground for thinking, that shortly prior to 1632, that playhouse had been more than usually frequented. In 1631, a petition was presented to Laud, then Bishop of London, containing serious complaints against the great injury and inconvenience arising from the number of coaches conveying visitors to and from the Blackfriars playhouse. This remonstrance was renewed in 1633, but the petitioners obtained no redress. It appears from Ben Jonson's *Alchymist*, Act i., Sc. 1; from his *Bartholomew Fair*, Act v., Sc. 5; from Randolph's *Muses' Looking Glass*, Act i., Sc. 1; and various other authorities, that the precinct in which the theatre stood was remarkable for the number of resident Puritans, and perhaps they exaggerated the nuisance in the hope of putting down the playhouse.

The Blackfriars appears to have remained open for the representation of plays until all the theatres were temporarily closed in 1642, and permanently in 1647. In his 'Præludium to Mr. Richard Brome's Plays,' printed in 1653, Sir Aston Cockayne anticipates the time when

'Black, and Whitefriars too, shall flourish again;'

but, on the revival of the drama, we never hear of its employment, and as it was then an old building, it was

probably pulled down. Part of the ground near which it stood, adjoining Apothecaries' Hall, is still called Playhouse Yard.

PARIS GARDEN.

RICHARD III., as appears by the original patent cited in the Annals of the Stage, (i. 35.) was the first of our Kings who appointed a royal Bearward, but nothing is said at so early a date of any public place in the vicinity of London, for the exhibition of bear-baiting or bull-baiting.

The most ancient notice of Paris Garden as the scene of such amusements, that I have met with, is in a book of the expenses of the Northumberland family, where, under date of 17 Henry VIII., it is said that the Earl went to Paris Garden to behold the bear-baiting there. In 1544, the Duke of Naxera arrived in England, ambassador from Spain, and one of his suite wrote an account* of some passages in their travels, and especially during their stay of eight days in London: after speaking of the wild beasts in the Tower, he thus notices the sports at Paris Garden, although he does not mention the place by name.

'On the other side of the town we have seen seven 'bears, some of them very large: they are driven into 'a circus, where they are confined by a long rope,

* It is a fair MS. in Spanish, now deposited in the British Museum. An interesting paper, composed by Mr. Madden, the very learned keeper of the MSS. in the Museum, from this narrative, was recently read before the Antiquarian Society, but it is not yet printed.

'while large and courageous dogs are let loose upon 'them, as if to be devoured, and a fight takes place. 'It is not bad sport to witness the conflict. The 'large bears contend with three or four dogs, and 'sometimes one is victorious and sometimes the other: 'the bears are ferocious and of great strength, and 'not only defend themselves with their teeth, but 'hug the dogs so closely with their fore-legs, that if 'they were not rescued by their masters they would 'be suffocated. At the same place a pony is baited, 'with a monkey on its back, defending itself against 'the dogs by kicking them; and the shrieks of the 'monkey, when he sees the dogs hanging from the 'ears and neck of the pony, render the scene very 'laughable.'

In Pennant's London, the following stanzas are quoted, and are there said to have been written by 'one Crowley, a poet of the reign of Henry VIII.*' He was a printer, and published, in 1550, 'One and 'thirty Epigrams, wherein are briefly touched so many 'abuses that may and ought to be put away.'

'What folly is this to keep with danger
'A great mastive dog, and fowle ouglie bear,
'And to this an end, to see them two fight
'With terrible tearings, a ful ouglie sight.
'And methinkes those men are most fools of al,
'Whose store of money is but very smal,
'And yet every Sunday they wil surely spend
'One peny or two, the Bearward's living to mend.

* Edit. 1793, p. 43. I have not been able to meet with, or even to hear of, any copy of the original Epigram.

'At Paris Garden each Sunday a man shal not fail
'To find two or three hundred for the Bearward's vale.
'One halfpenny a piece they use for to give,
'When some have not more in their purses, I believe.
'Wel, at the last day their conscience wil declare,
'That the poor ought to have al that they may spare.
'If you therefore give to see a bear fight,
'Be sure God his curse upon you wil light.'

In one of the oldest existing plans of London, known by the name of Aggas's map *, two circles are marked out for 'Bull-baiting' and 'Bear-baiting,' at a short distance from each other, as if the two amusements were exhibited at separate places appropriated to each, and both within the manor of Paris Garden †. We are without information regarding the first erection of either ‡.

* It is said to have been completed some time before 1578. The original plates, of pewter, came into the hands of Vertue, and he printed off a number of copies with a new inscription: they now belong to the Society of Antiquaries, London.

† Before 37 Henry VIII., when the monastery was dissolved, Paris Garden belonged to St. Saviour's, Bermondsey: by the Act 28 Henry VIII., c. 21, it was given to the King; and by another statute, in the same year, ch. 38, the manors of Paris Garden, Hyde, and others, were granted to the Queen. Malone, in a note on Henry VIII., Act v., Sc. 3, says that it was called Paris Garden, from Robert de Paris, who had a house and grounds there, in the reign of Richard II. He quotes, as his authorities, Blount's Glossographia, and Rot. Claus. 16 R. II., dors. ii.

‡ Stowe speaks of two bear-gardens, the old and the new, as if one of them had been erected within his memory. I quote the following from his original (Harl. MS., 544), because it is more full and particular than in the printed copy of his *Survey*, 1599.

'And to begynne at the west banque as afore, thus it folowith. On

There is little doubt that they were both in being at the period of which the writer of the MS. Chronicle, beginning in the reign of Edward VI. *, speaks when he says, that on Sunday, 9th December, 1554, 'at 'after noon was a bere baytyng on the Banke-syde, 'and ther the grett blynd bere brake losse, and in 'ronnyng away he shakt a servyng man by the calff 'of the leg, and byt a gret pese away, and after by 'the hokyll bone, that within three days after he ded.' The same chronicler gives an account of several bear-baitings before Elizabeth at Whitehall; and, on one occasion (the 25th May, but the year is illegible), the French ambassadors were so delighted with the sport, that on the very next day they went to Paris Garden, with a guard of honour, to see it repeated: his words are these:—'The 25 day [of May] they [the Ambas-'sadors] were browght to the court with musyke to 'dener, for ther was grett cher, and after dener to

'this banque is the beare gardens, in nomber twayne; to wite, the olde 'beare garden and the newe, places where in be kepte bears, bulls, and 'othar beastes, to be bayted at stakes for pleasure: also mastives to 'bayte them in severall kenells are there norished. Theis bears, bulls, 'and othar beastes, are ofte tymes there bayted in plots of ground scaf-'folded about for the beholders to stand upon saffe.'

* Cotton MSS., *Vitellius*, F. 5. I am inclined to think, from his dialect, as indicated by peculiar spelling, that the writer was a Scotchman. Paris Garden was a common place of resort in the reign of Mary, and among 'the Prices of Fares and Passages to be paide to Watermen,' printed by John Cawood, 'Prynter to the Quene's Majestie,' is the following:

'Item, that no whyrymanne, with a pare of ores, take for his fare from 'Pawles wharfe, Quene hithe, Parishe garden, or the blacke Fryers to 'Westminster, or White hal, or lyke distaunce to and fro, above iij^{d}.'

'bere and bull bayting, and the queene's grace and 'the ambassadors stud in the galere [at Whitehall] 'lokyng of the pastym till vj at nyght. The '26 day of May they whent from the byssopes howse 'to Powlls warff, and toke barge, and so to Parys 'garden, for ther was boyth bare and bull baytyng, 'and the capteyn with a xii of the gard, to kepe 'rowm for them to see the baytyng.'

According to John Field, 'Minister of the word of God,' the amphitheatre would hold 'above a thousand people;' and he states * that that number was collected on Sunday, January 13th, 1582-3, when one of the scaffolds fell, and five men and two women were killed, and more than one hundred and fifty persons injured. Stow, in his Annals, referring to the same calamity, says that eight lives were lost, and adds that the scaffolds were 'old and underpropped.' Field observes that 'the gallery was double, and compassed the yard round about,' and that it was 'old and rotten,' so that the building in 1583 was no recent erection.

Paris Garden was certainly at an early date employed also as a theatre for dramatic representations, and it seems to have been of an hexagonal shape. To show that plays were performed there, Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, may be quoted, where Tucca asks Horace (so Ben Jonson was designated in this play), 'Thou hast been at the Paris Garden, hast not?' To which Horace replies, 'Yes, Captain; I ha'

* In his *Godly Exhortation*, which he published on the occasion of this accident.

played Zulziman there.' Zulziman was a character in some play which has not survived. Nash, in his *Strange Newes*, 1592, tells us that puppet-shows were also exhibited at Paris Garden, for speaking of Gabriel Harvey he says, 'Oh, it is a pestilent libeller against 'beggars! he means shortly to set forth a book called 'his Paraphrase upon Paris Garden, wherein he will 'so tamper with the Interpreter of the Puppets, and 'betouse Harry of Tame and great Ned,* that Titius 'shall not upbraid Caius with every thing and nothing, 'nor Zoilus any more flurt at Homer, nor Thersites 'fling at Agamemnon.'

By one of the curious documents formerly preserved at Dulwich College, we find that in 1601 Henslowe and Alleyn, who were in partnership, had possession of Paris Garden (as well as of the Fortune playhouse), under a commission from Mr. Darryngton, who acted perhaps on behalf of his father, Sir John Darryngton, master of the Queen's Bears, for which they paid him 4*l.* per annum.

Although the performance of plays on Sunday was prohibited, and the prohibition enforced early in the reign of James I., the 'game of bulls and bears' was allowed, as appears, among other authorities, from the following passage in *The Black Book*, 1604. 'Well, 'still I waited for another fare, but then I bethought 'myself again that all the fares went by water—a' Sun-'days to the bear-baiting, and a' Mondays to West-'minster Hall.' When, however, Henslowe and Alleyn

* Two bears so called.

presented their undated petition* to James I., a change had been made in this particular, for they expressly prayed to be permitted to exhibit bear-baiting, &c., on Sunday, and to have their fee raised to 2*s.* 8*d.* per day, instead of 1*s.* 4*d.* per day. To this fee they had then become entitled in consequence of having purchased the office of 'Master of the game of Bulls and Bears' from Sir William Steward, who had obtained the grant after the death of Sir J. Darryngton.

Paris Garden was not built for the performance of plays, although it was occasionally applied to the purpose; but on the burning of the Globe theatre, in its immediate neighbourhood, on 29th of June, 1613,

* It is preserved in Lysons' Environs, i. 92, but the original is missing at Dulwich College. The following is a copy of an advertisement issued by Henslowe and Alleyn, once also kept in that depository:—

'To-morrow, being Thursday, shall be seen at the Bear Garden on 'the Bankside, a great match plaid by the gamesters of Essex, who 'hath challenged all comers whatsoever to plaie 5 dogges at a single 'beare for 5 pounds: and also to wearie a bull dead at the stake: and 'for their better content shall have pleasant sport with the horse and 'ape, and whipping of the blind bear.'

The 'pleasant sport with the horse and ape' was, doubtless, the same amusement which gave such delight to the attendant of the Duke of Naxera in 1544. It was probably 'whipping the blind bear,' which cost the serving man his life a few years afterwards, as noticed in Cotton MSS., *Vitellius*, F. 5, before cited. Whipping the blind bear is thus described by Dekker:—'At length a blind bear was tied to a stake, 'and instead of baiting him with dogs, a company of creatures that 'had the shapes of men and faces of Christians (being either colliers, 'carters or watermen) took the office of beadles upon them, and whipped 'Monsieur Hunks till the blood ran down his old shoulders.'—*Work for Armourers, or the Peace is broken*, 1609.

Henslowe contemplated the conversion of that circus into a regular playhouse, as well as into a place for the baiting of animals. An agreement between Henslowe and Jacob Meade (or Maide), waterman, (who seems to have joined with him in the undertaking,) on the one part, and Gilbert Katherens, carpenter, on the other part, dated 20th of August, 1613, has been discovered, and makes the matter quite clear. It is expressly recited, that hitherto Paris Garden had been used 'as 'a game-place, or house where bulls and bears have 'been usually baited,' and it is stipulated that Katherens shall convert it into 'a game-place or *play-house*,' by pulling down the old building and erecting a new one, 'convenient in all things both for players to play 'in, and for the game of bears and bulls to be baited 'in the same.' The form, width, height, staircases, &c., were to be the same as the Swan theatre on the Bankside: it was to have a 'tire-house,' and the stage was to be made in a frame and placed upon tressels, so that it could be removed when the 'game of bears and bulls' was to be exhibited. The 'heavens,' or covering over the stage, was not to have any supports upon the stage, and on the lowermost story there were to be two boxes 'fit and decent for gentlemen to sit in*.' The columns were to be turned; no fir was to

* The following passage from Swetnam's 'Address' before his *Arraignment of Women*, 1617, mentions these boxes or rooms: it may be doubted whether there were such at Paris Garden before it was reconstructed in 1613: 'If you meane to see the beare-baiting of women, 'then trudge to this bear-garden apace and get in betimes, and view 'every *room* where thou mayst best sit for thy own pleasure.'

be used in the lowest story, and the foundation was to be of brick, and to rise at least twelve inches from the ground. The bull-house and stable (tiled, and lighted by a loover or sky-light) were to be capable of holding six bulls and three horses. It was farther provided that Katherens might have for his own use all the old bricks, timber, benches, &c., and also a quantity of old timber lying at the back of the bear-garden, and to receive 360*l.* to be paid in various sums as the work proceeded, and apparently to hasten the completion of it, as it was stipulated that the whole should be finished by the last day of November, which would allow little more than three months for finishing the whole undertaking *.

There is no other reason for thinking that this project was not carried into execution, than the fact that no plays are extant which purport to have been at any time performed at Paris Garden; but to this it may be answered, that as the booksellers would not like to give pieces they published a bad reputation in the outset, it is not unlikely that they would rather mention the production of the play at any other theatre. I am not aware, however, of any authority in which it is said that dramatic performances took place there subsequent to the date of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602. Richard Brome, in his excellent comedy, *The Antipodes*, (acted at the Salisbury Court Theatre in 1638,) notices the exhibitions of

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 343.

dancing masters at the Bear-garden, where old Letoy, in Act ii. Sc. 1, is giving some excellent advice to three players: he says—

'——— No, nor you, sir, in
'That over action of the legs, I told you of,
'Your singles and your doubles—look you—thus—
'Like one of the Dancing Masters o' the Bear-garden *.'

When Henslowe ceased to have interest in Paris Garden, has not been ascertained; but, in 1620, Jacob

* In the same play, Act iv. Sc. 1, there is a singular notice of bear-baiting, and of the encouragement the amusement received from royalty. An old woman there reads the following bill of an exhibition at Paris Garden:—

'ROYAL PASTIME.

'In a great match between the tanners and the butchers, six dogs of 'a side, to play single at the game bear for fifty pound, and a ten 'pound supper for their dogs and themselves. Also you shall see two 'ten dog courses at the great bear.'

A young maid, who was reading a book of meditations, thus interrupts her—

'Fie, granny, fie! can no persuasions,
'Threat'nings, nor blows prevail, but you'll persist
'In these profane and diabolical courses:
'To follow bear-baitings when you can scarce
'Spell out their bills with spectacles?
'*Old W.* What, though
'My sight be gone beyond the reach of spectacles
'In any print but this; and though I cannot
'(No, no, I cannot) read your meditations; [*Strikes down her book.*
'Yet I can see the royal game played over and over,
'And tell which dog does best without my spectacles:
'And though I could not, yet I love the noise;
'The noise revives me, and the Bear-garden scent
'Refresheth much my smelling.
'*Maid.* Let me entreat you,
'Forbear such beastly pastimes: they're satanical.
'*Old W.* Take heed, child, what you say: 'tis the King's game.'

Meade, his partner in the rebuilding of it, was brough before the Privy Council, and although his offence is not stated in the Register, it most probably had some connection with his ownership of this place of amusement. The following is the entry—

'26th August, 1620.

'This day Jacob Meade, of the Parish of St. 'Saviour's, in the County of Surrey, waterman, having 'been sent for by warrant, tendered his appearance, 'which for his indemnitie is here entred: And upon 'his entring into bond of 100*l.* with two suerties 'to appear before the Lords at half a days warning, 'he was dismissed.'

In 1623, the baiting of bears, bulls, &c., at Paris Garden took place twice a week. The author of *Vox Graculi**, in one of his mock-prognostications, says:— 'The dogs will all this year rage twice a week, and 'that very furiously; but their sorest outrage will be 'about the Bear-garden.' It is evident, from Brome's play, already quoted, that it continued open for the exhibitions of dancers, and for 'the game of bears and bulls,' in 1638, and in the following year Sir S. Duncombe obtained a patent 'for the sole practising 'and profit of the fighting and combating of wild and 'domestic beasts in England,' which was to continue in force for fourteen years. In 1642, a person of the name of Godfray (perhaps under a commission from Sir S. Duncombe) was one of the masters of the Bear

* Printed in 1623, p. 44.

Garden, and he gave offence to the Parliament by violently opposing the signature of a petition which tended to injure his interests: Mr. Whitacre presented a report to the House of Commons on the subject, and it was ordered that 'the Masters of the Bear-garden, 'and all other persons who have interest there, be 'enjoined and required by this House, that for the 'future they do not permit to be used the game of 'bear-baiting in these times of great distraction, until 'this House do give further order herein.'

On the sale of Church lands, on 14th of January, 1647, Paris Garden was disposed of for the sum of 1783*l.* 15*s.** It has already been explained in what manner it came into the possession of the crown.

WHITEFRIARS AND SALISBURY COURT THEATRES.

THERE is ground for believing that one of our oldest London theatres was situated in the liberty of the dissolved Monastery of the Whitefriars. Malone was of opinion that it existed prior to 1580, and, perhaps, it had the same origin, and the same date as the theatre in the precinct of the Blackfriars. In support of the latter conjecture, no evidence has been brought forward, and the testimony to show that there was a playhouse in Whitefriars before 1580, is vague

* Note by Reed, in Dodsley's Old Plays, new edit. ix. 148.

and unsatisfactory: it is a passage quoted by Prynne*, from a tract by Richard Rawlidge, called *A Monster lately found out and discovered, or the Scourging of Tipplers*, which was not printed until 1628: it states that soon after 1580, 'many godly citizens and 'well-disposed gentlemen of London, considering that 'playhouses and dicing-houses were traps for young 'gentlemen and others'—'acquainted some pious 'magistrates therewith, desiring them to take some 'speedy course for the suppressing of common play-'houses and dicing-houses within the City of London 'and liberties thereof; who thereupon made humble 'suit to Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Council, and 'obtained leave from her Majesty to thrust the players 'out of the City and to pull down all playhouses and 'dicing-houses within their liberties: which accord-'ingly was effected, and the playhouses in Gracious-'street, Bishop's-gate-street, that nigh Paul's, that on 'Ludgate Hill, and the Whitefriars were quite put 'down and suppressed by the care of these religious 'Senators.'

Of this remarkable event, as a matter of history, we find no trace: on the contrary, we know that in 1583, so far was the Queen from favouring the views of the Puritans regarding the theatres, that she actually took into her own service a company of players, made up from the performers patronised by some of her nobility. We know also, whatever might be the fact with regard to the temporary stages in inn-yards, such as

* Histriomastix, 1633, p. 492.

those above-mentioned, at the Cross-keys in Gracious-street, at the Bull in Bishopsgate-street, and at the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill, that the Blackfriars theatre (to which Rawlidge seems to point when he speaks of 'that nigh Paul's') never was 'put down' nor 'suppressed.' It is doubtful, also, whether the Whitefriars theatre was 'put down and suppressed' at the same time, because it was equally out of the jurisdiction of the City authorities. As to the whole statement, we must recollect, that Rawlidge wrote nearly fifty years after the event to which he alone refers.

The principal circumstance that militates against the supposition that there was an ancient theatre in Whitefriars is, that we do not meet with any mention of it upon the title-pages of plays anterior to the year 1612, when Field's *Woman is a Weathercock* was printed, as it was 'acted before the king in Whitehall, 'and divers times privately at the Whitefriars, by the 'Children of her Majesty's Revels.' This play was written before 1610, because the second part of it, *Amends for Ladies*, is alluded to by Anthony Stafford in 1611*; and it is not to be disputed that the Children of the Queen's Revels continued, in 1609†, to 'hold a divided Empire' with the King's servants at the Blackfriars. Of the cause of their removal

* In the Admonition to a discontented Romanist, at the end of his *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, 1611.

† Ben Jonson's *Epicœne* was acted in 1609, as the 4to. of 1616 states, by the Children of the Queen's Revels, who had before performed several of his other pieces at the Blackfriars.

to Whitefriars, we know nothing; but it seems likely that *Woman is a Weathercock* was either the first, or one of the first plays they acted after that removal.

The theatre being probably small, it might soon be found incapable of accommodating the audiences of the apparently popular company of the Children of the Queen's Revels: accordingly, in 1613 a project was on foot for constructing a new theatre in Whitefriars, and, on the 13th of July, in that year, Sir George Buc (as we find by Sir Henry Herbert's MS. office-book, where the entry is extracted from a previous register of the same kind kept by Sir George Buc) received 20*l.* for 'a licence to erect a new playhouse in Whitefriars.'

Whether this intention was ever carried into effect, is a matter of doubt. After 1612, we hear nothing of the Whitefriars theatre*, and it is Malone's conjecture that although that large sum was paid to the Master of the Revels, no attempt was made to erect the new theatre until 1629, when a playhouse was built in Salisbury Court, on or near the site of the old edifice,

* Excepting by Sir Aston Cockayne in his *Præludium* to Brome's *Five New Plays*, 1653, when he seems to mention Whitefriars in opposition to Blackfriars, and for the sake of a conceit: he is speaking of the revival of the stage at some future period—

'Black, and Whitefriars too, shall flourish again,
'Though there have been none since Queen Mary's reign.'

It is to be observed also, that although he speaks of the Fortune and Red Bull, he takes no separate notice of the Salisbury Court Theatre, as if he had already spoken of it as the Whitefriars, on the site of which it is supposed to have stood.

and still within the liberty of the Whitefriars. I am inclined to agree with him, because Prynne, in 1633, (in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Histriomastix*,) expressly asserts that a new theatre had been lately erected in the Whitefriars, meaning, as I apprehend, the playhouse built in Salisbury Court in 1629. Howes, the continuator of Stow, adverting to this event, calls it 'a new fair playhouse *near* the Whitefriars,' and just afterwards, he says it was '*in* the Whitefriars*.'

After the death of Anne, the Children of the Queen's Revels became 'the Children of his Majesty's Revels,' and Shirley's *Changes* purports to have been performed by them. It was published in 1632, and we know from the title-page of Marmyon's *Holland's Leaguer* (also printed in 1632) that at that date Salisbury Court Theatre was in the occupation of the 'servants of Prince Charles,' who had therefore taken possession of it subsequent to the performance of Shirley's *Changes*. We may infer, from the terms of the prologue to Marmyon's *Holland's Leaguer*, that it was the first, or one of the first plays, performed at Salisbury Court by the servants of Prince Charles, and that they had succeeded 'inhabitants' who had

* That it was round, we may judge from the following lines in praise of Lewis Sharpe's *Noble Stranger*, 1640, acted at 'the private house in Salisbury Court'—

'Nor can she, had she robb'd the fluent store
'Of Donne's wise genius, make thy merits more:
'No, 'tis thy own smooth numbers must prefer
'Thy *Stranger* to the Globe-like theatre.'

Perhaps the writer (Richard Woodfall) meant also to be understood that, in this respect, the Salisbury Court playhouse was like the Globe on the Bankside.

'forsaken' that playhouse*. It also mentions the Globe and Phœnix by name, and refers to their rivalry and popularity—

'Gentle Spectators, that with graceful eye
'Come to behold the Muse's colony
'New planted in this soil, forsook of late
'By the inhabitants, since made fortunate
'By more propitious stars; though on each hand
'To overtop us two great laurels stand,
'The one, when she shall please to spread her train
'The vastness of the *Globe* cannot contain;
'Th' other so high, the *Phœnix* does aspire
'To build in, and takes new life from the fire
'Bright Poesie creates: yet we partake
'The influence they boast of, which does make
'Our bays to flourish, and the leaves to spring,
'That on our branches now new poets sing;
'And when with joy he shall see this resort,
'Phœbus shall not disdain to stile't his Court.'

What change had taken place in the situation of the Children of the King's Revels to warrant the words 'since made *fortunate* by more propitious stars,' cannot now perhaps be explained, unless it mean that they had gone to the Fortune. One of the 'new poets' was Marmyon†, the writer of the laughable

* It seems, by Sir H. Herbert's office-book, as quoted in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 178, that *Holland's Leaguer* was produced in December, 1631, and that it met with what was considered at that time extraordinary success, having been acted for six days running. Sir H. Herbert was one of the proprietors of the Salisbury Court Theatre, or, at least, was allowed a ninth share of the receipts.

† The following quotation, from the Registers of the Privy Council, relates to the father and uncle of the poet. The father was a man of considerable landed property, which the son dissipated. The date of the subsequent extract is more than a year before the son was born:—

comedy above quoted, which appears to have been his earliest production.

The players of Prince Charles altered their quarters to the Fortune theatre anterior to 1635, but at what precise date is questionable. Perhaps they found the Salisbury Court Theatre too small for the accommodation of their audiences: by what company they were immediately succeeded we have no means of ascertaining, possibly by the children of the King's Revels; and, under date of 1638, we find Sir H. Herbert strengthening the performers at Salisbury Court by the addition of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner to the number.

Salisbury Court theatre, with the rest of the playhouses, was closed by the Puritans in 1642 and more effectually and permanently in 1647, but it was not pulled down, and in 1660 Tatham's *Rump* was acted there: it was then called the Theatre in Dorset Court.

'28 August, 1601.

'This daie Shakerley Marmyon and Henry Marmyon of Eno [Aynhoe] in the Countie of Northampton, gent., beinge by warrant sent for, as partakers, with others, which hunted in a parke of Sir John Stanhope, Vicechamberlaine of her Majestie, entered their appearance, and were commanded in their Lordships' names to give their daily attendances, and not to departe till they had obtained lycence from theire Lordshippes.

'The said gent. upon humble suite made after their appearences were dismissed from their attendances upon bonde taken of them to answere soche matters as should be objected against them on the behalf of the said Rt. Hon. Sir John Stanhope, Knight, in the highe court of the Starre Chamber the next terme, where they were to make their personal appearance on the 7th daie after the beginning of the said terme.'

THE GLOBE THEATRE.

We are able to fix with tolerable exactness the date when the Globe, on the Bankside, was erected, by the discovery of a bond dated 22d of December, 1593, given by Richard Burbage, the actor, to Peter Streete, for the due performance, on the part of Burbage, of the covenants contained in an indenture of agreement for the erection of that very theatre *. Peter Streete was the carpenter employed to do the work, which, we may suppose, was commenced soon after the date of the bond, and, perhaps, completed by the summer, during which season only the Globe was used by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

I am not aware of the existence of any authentic representation in detail of the old Globe theatre as it existed before it was rebuilt after the fire in 1613. Malone seems to have confounded the two erections, and speaks of Wright's statement of its size (in *Historia Histrionica*) as if he were referring to the playhouse built by Burbage and his associates in 1594 †. The rude wood-cut which he had engraved from the long Antwerp view of London, in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, seems to be a representation of the new, and not of the old Globe. Hentzner (who travelled in England in 1598) alludes to the old Globe

* I have mislaid my reference to this printed document; but I can speak confidently as to its date and import, and that it contains no farther information.

† Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 64.

when he describes it, without giving it a name, as one *horum theatrorum quæ omnia lignea sunt**. It was unquestionably constructed of wood, and it seems to have been of an hexagonal shape, as was the case with the erection by which it was succeeded in 1613. It was probably circular within, and, like other public playhouses, it was open to the weather, excepting over the stage, which was covered with a thatched roof.

Peter Streete, who built it, as we have concluded, in the spring of 1594, was the same person who was employed by Henslowe and Alleyn in 1599, to erect the Fortune in Golding Lane, and from the agreement between them for that purpose, which refers to the 'late erected playhouse' called the Globe, we learn that both theatres were to have the same 'stairs, conveyances, and divisions, without and within;' that the two stages were to be constructed similarly, and the interiors to be fitted up alike, excepting that the Fortune was to be more ornamented, inasmuch as all the main supports were not to be round, as in the Globe; but square and wrought like pilasters, with carved satyrs for capitals. The Globe had two doors, doubtless one leading into what is called the 'tire-house, and the other into the body of the theatre, where the audience was accommodated. That it had rails, to prevent spectators in the yard from intruding on the stage, is evident from the following lines in the

* Itin. p. 132, as quoted by Malone.

poetical Introduction to *The Black Book*, printed in 1604.

'And now that I have ventur'd up on high,
'Above the stage-rails of this earthen Globe,
'I must turn actor.'

Malone was of opinion that the Globe was so denominated, not from the shape of its interior, but from its sign; and he observes *, without citing his authority (referring merely to Stow's *Survey* regarding the signs of the ancient stew-houses), that that sign was Hercules supporting the globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus agit histrionem.*

The fire which consumed the old Globe, happened on St. Peter's day, the 29th June, 1613, and the following account of the accident was written by Sir Henry Wotton to his nephew three days afterwards.

'Now to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain 'you at the present with what hath happened this 'week at the Bank-side. The King's players had a 'new play, called *All is True*, representing some 'principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, 'which was set forth with many extraordinary cir-'cumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting 'of the stage; the knights of the order, with their 'Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroi-'dered coats and the like: sufficient, in truth, within 'a while, to make greatness very familiar, if not ridi-'culous. Now King Henry, making a mask at the 'Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 67.

'shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other 'stuff wherewith one of them was stopped, did light 'on the thatch, where, being thought at first but an 'idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the 'show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a 'train, consuming, within less than an hour, the 'whole house to the very grounds. This was the 'fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet 'nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few 'forsaken cloaks: only one man had his breeches 'set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him, if 'he had not, by the benefit of a provident wit, put 'it out with bottle ale *.

'July 2, 1613.'

John Chamberlain, in a letter preserved in Winwood's Memorials †, dated the 8th July, gives a similar account of the origin of the fire: he says—'The burn-'ing of the Globe, or playhouse, on the Bankside, on 'St. Peter's day, cannot escape you; which fell out 'by a peal of chambers (that I know not on what 'occasion were to be used in the play), the tampin or 'stopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that 'covered the house, burnt it to the ground ‡ in less

* Reliq. Wotton., Edit. 1672, p. 425. † Vol. iii. 469.

‡ Prynne, writing his *Histriomastix*, 1633, would fain make out that the burning of the Globe, and subsequently of the Fortune theatres, was providential, and intended as a judgment upon players and plays. 'Nor yet (he says, p. 556) to recite the sudden fearful burning, 'even to the ground, both of the Globe and Fortune playhouses, no 'man perceiving how these fires came: together with the visible ap-'parition of the Devil on the stage, at the Bell-savage playhouse, in

'than two hours, with a dwelling-house adjoining, 'and it was a great marvel and fair grace of God, that 'the people had so little harm, having but two narrow 'doors to get out.' Malone has mentioned * that 'a 'doleful ballad of the general conflagration of the 'famous Theatre on the Bank-side, called the Globe,' was entered on the Stationers' books in 1613, but that he had been unable to meet with it: it is probably the same production which will be found inserted in the Annals of the Stage †.

Ben Jonson seems to have been present on the occasion, and in his *Execration upon Vulcan*, confirms the statement that the Globe was thatched, and adds, that it was set on fire by two chambers (probably the whole stock of ordnance belonging to the company), and burnt down, although the building was flanked with a ditch, so that there could have been no deficiency of water, had there then existed the means of applying it. He exclaims:—

'But, O, those reeds! thy mere disdain of them
'Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
'Which some are pleas'd to style but thy mad prank,
'Against the Globe, the glory of the Bank:
'Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
'Flank'd with a ditch, and forc'd out of a marish,
'I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
'And raz'd, ere thought could urge, this might have been ‡.'

'Queen Elizabeth's days,' &c. He would wish to make out that the Devil, *in propriâ personâ*, entered the playhouses, hissing hot, and set them in an instant blaze.

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 68. † Vol. i. p. 387.

‡ This was written prior to 27th June, 1629, because Howel, in one

Howes, in his additions to Stow's Chronicle, states that the play in a course of performance was *Henry the Eighth:* it was unquestionably a piece upon that part of history, although Sir Henry Wotton gives it the title of *All is True*, and the burden of the ballad commemorating the calamity tends to show that he was right. The following is the account of Howes. 'Also upon St. Peter's day last, (1613,) the play-'house or Theatre, called the Globe, upon the Bank-'side near London, by negligent discharging of a 'peal of ordnance, close to the south-side thereof the 'thatch took fire, and the wind suddenly dispersed 'the flame round about, and in a very short space the 'whole building was quite consumed, and no man hurt; 'the house being filled with people to behold the play, 'viz., of Henry the Eighth: and the next spring it was 'new builded in far fairer manner than before.'

The reconstruction of the Globe in the 'next spring' 'in far fairer manner than before,' is alluded to by John Taylor, (the Water-poet,) in the twenty-second of his *Quatern of new-catched Epigrams.*

'As gold is better that's in fire tried,
'So is the Bankside Globe that late was burn'd,
'For where before it had a thatched hide,
'Now to a stately theatre is turn'd:

of his *Familiar Letters* of that date, if indeed it may be relied upon, clearly refers to the commencement of the poem. He also states, that it was written on occasion of Ben Jonson's *second* preservation from fire: perhaps the first was on the consumption of the Globe, which the poet himself tells us he *saw.*

'Which is an emblem, that great things are won
'By those that dare through greatest dangers run.'

Hence it is clear, that for the thatch which had occasioned the conflagration, tiles were substituted; but it is probable that the whole frame of the exterior (like the Fortune) was still of wood, although more ornamented, both without and within, than it had been before the fire.

The King's servants continued to perform at the Globe, with only occasional interruptions from the prevalence of the plague, during every summer until the closing of the theatres, and no other company ever seems to have had any interest or connection with the house. After 1647, it was most likely pulled down, and having been in constant use for more than thirty years, it was no doubt much out of repair. After the Restoration we hear nothing of it.

THE FORTUNE THEATRE.

The Fortune theatre in Golden, or Golding Lane, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, was originally built by Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn in 1599-1600, as appears by an indenture of agreement, bearing date on the 8th of January, 1599-1600, between them and a carpenter named Peter Streete, who had before been employed in the construction of the Globe. Maitland is, therefore, in error in calling the Fortune 'the oldest theatre in London,' and when, at

a subsequent period, John Chamberlain (in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, to which I shall have occasion to advert more particularly presently) terms it 'the first playhouse in this town,' the expression must be understood to have reference to its size and rank, and not to its antiquity.

Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, states that it was 'a large round brick building,' and Malone follows him*, without at all adverting to the important fact, that Wright is there speaking of the theatre as it was rebuilt after the fire, by which it was destroyed in December, 1621. When Malone wrote his note upon the Fortune, he had not seen the articles of agreement for the erection of the first theatre, in which it is stipulated that the whole fabric shall be of lath, plaster, and timber, and that the external frame shall be eighty feet square: it was originally, therefore, neither a brick building nor round. That it was square also in the inside is evident from the same document, and from the following lines in the prologue to T. Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, 1607, which was performed at the Fortune—

'The charms of silence through this *square* be thrown,
'That an unus'd attention, like a jewel,
'May hang at every ear.'

Had Malone met with this passage he would scarcely have called the Fortune, as it existed prior to 1621, a round building. He also hesitated whether it was 'built or rebuilt' in 1599; but there can now be

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 55.

no doubt that there had been no such structure on the site before. In the indenture between Henslowe and Alleyn on the one part, and Peter Streete on the other, it is termed 'a new house and stage for a play-house,' to be constructed 'upon a certain plot or piece 'of ground appointed out for that purpose, situate 'and being near Golding Lane, in the parish of St. 'Giles without Cripplegate.'

From the same curious document we learn that the house was to be eighty feet square on the outside and fifty-five feet square within, and although the walls were to be only of lath, plaster, and timber, the foundation was to be laid of piles, brick, lime, and sand, and to rise at least one foot above the ground. As the outer frame was to be eighty feet each way, and the space in the inside fifty-five feet each way, there would remain a depth of twelve feet and a half on each side of the quadrangle for the boxes or rooms, galleries, and stair-cases in front of the stage, and for the 'tiring room and other apartments behind it. The height of the whole building is to be gathered from the stipulation regarding the respective heights of the several floors: it is provided that the boxes, rooms and galleries were to be three stories high, or, as we now express it, in three tiers—the lowest twelve feet high, the second eleven feet high, and the upper story nine feet high, making an altitude of thirty-two feet from the ground. The 'gentlemen's rooms' and the 'two-penny rooms' were to have four divisions, and both, together with the stair-cases and passages, were to be plastered and ceiled: the

rooms were to be furnished with seats and to be floored with deal boarding; and it was agreed moreover that the 'stairs, conveyances and divisions' should be the same as in 'the late erected playhouse on the Bank' called the Globe. The width of the stage was to be forty-three feet, leaving, therefore, six feet on each side of it, perhaps, for an entrance into what was called 'the yard,' where the spectators stood. The stage was to project to the middle of the yard, or twenty-seven feet and a half, which, added to the twelve feet interval, before noticed, between the outer and inner frames, would make a depth for the stage and 'tiring-house (supposing it to be at the back of the stage) of thirty-nine feet and a half. In all other respects the stage was to be 'contrived and fashioned' like the stage at the Globe. The 'tiring house was to be fitted up with glazed windows and lights, and the stage was to be boarded with deal and paled in from the yard with oak: the whole lower story was to be fenced with strong iron piles. The catastrophe at the Globe in 1613, when the thatch caught fire and burnt down the house, probably led to the provision that the stage, stair-cases, and rooms, at the Fortune, should be covered in from the weather by tiles: the projecting tiled roof over the stage is called in this agreement 'the shadow,' but it was also technically termed 'the heavens*:' this

* It is mentioned as 'the heavens' in the agreement between Henslowe and Katherens in August, 1613, for the reconstruction of Paris Garden as a 'game place and playhouse.' Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, speaking of the theatre built by Julius Cæsar, says,

was to be provided with a leaden gutter to carry backwards the water that might fall upon it, so that it should not drip into the yard, which was of course open to the sky and therefore quite sufficiently exposed.

Besides the great difference between a square and a round theatre, the only material respect in which the construction of the Fortune varied from that of the Globe, as appears from this agreement, was, that the principal supports of the frame and stage (which stood forward, and were, therefore, in sight) in the Fortune were to be made square instead of round: they were also to be wrought like pilasters, and, for the sake of additional ornament, they were to be surmounted by carved satyrs. Peter Streete undertaking to perform all these articles, Henslowe and Alleyn agreed to pay him the sum of 440*l.* for his work, but it was specially provided that Streete was to be at no charge for painting any part of the building.

This document would probably have been more minute and circumstantial if, fortunately for us, Peter Streete had been a workman unaccustomed to such undertakings: even as it stands it gives a more accurate notion of the interior arrangements of a theatre in the time of Shakespeare, than has hitherto been acquired. There is, however, some reason to suppose that the contract was varied as the work proceeded, and that the whole expense was greater than the

' the coverings of the stage (which we call *the heavens*) were geome-
' trically supported.'

sum mentioned in the agreement. Anterior to its discovery, Malone found a memorandum in a pocket-book which had belonged to Alleyn, from whence it appeared that the sum he actually paid for the Fortune was 520*l.* He there speaks of himself as if he had always been the sole proprietor—'What the Fortune cost *me*,' and he refers to November, 1599, as the time when he expended that sum upon it*. This and other entries regarding the same house do not seem to have been made until June, 1610; and at all events we learn from an order of the Privy Council dated 22d of June, 1600, that at that time the Fortune was 'in hand to be built' by Edward Alleyn. Whatever is to be understood by the terms Alleyn employs in his pocket-book, it is quite clear that Henslowe had an interest in the Fortune as late as the year 1608: at Christmas, 1603, he entered into an agreement with Robert Shaw, an actor and poet (noticed in Henslowe's Diary), who bound himself to produce for 'the Fortune,' by a certain day, his play of *The Four Sons of Aymon* †. By June, 1610, Alleyn had perhaps become sole proprietor, and in this character might speak of the Fortune, in November, 1599, as

* Hence Malone seems to have concluded that Alleyn was then the sole proprietor of the house (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 222); and although he had Henslowe's MS. Diary so long in his possession, he did not find in it that the old manager had an interest in the Fortune for some years afterwards, as indisputably appears by various entries.

† In another part of his manuscript diary, Henslowe enters the sums he had received from the Fortune at Christmas, 1608, in the following form:—

having cost *him*, without the mention of Henslowe's partnership, 520*l.** In the same memorandum, Alleyn notes the payment of 240*l.*, 'for the lease to Brew,' (referring most likely to the lease for the ground on which the Fortune stood,) and 120*l.* for 'other private buildings of mine own,' which may or may not have been connected with the theatre. Thus the total cost of the Fortune, including the 'private buildings,' is made to amount to the sum of 880*l.* †

'Rd at the Fortewne this yeare, 1608, begenynge at Crystmas holedayes—

	s.	*d.*
'Rd one St. Stevenes daye	25	0
'Rd one St. Johnes daye	45	0
'Rd one Chelldermas daye	44	9.'

Henslowe's receipts, in the same year, and on the same days, at Paris Garden, were much more considerable, and perhaps he had a larger share in it, or the concern was more profitable. On the leaf opposite what is above inserted, is another account, thus headed:—

'Rd at the bergarden this yeare, 1608, beginninge at Chrystmas 'holedays, as foloweth.' It contains only these items:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
'Rd one Monday St. Stevens daye	4	0	0
'Rd one tewesdaye St. Johns daye	6	0	0
'Rd one Wensdaye beinge Shelldemas daye	3	13	0.'

* In Henslowe's Diary, mention is made of payments to a person of the name of Whittington, who was perhaps a sleeping partner in the speculation of the Fortune. To this connection, and to the profits derived from it, Henry Parrat alludes in the following epigram from his '*Laquei Ridiculosi*, Springes for Woodcocks,' 1613.

'Tis said that Whittington was rais'd of nought,
'And by a cat hath divers wonders wrought:
'But *Fortune* (not his cat) makes it appear,
'He may dispend a thousand marks a year.'

† In Alleyn's Pocket-book, the entries stand precisely thus:—

The Fortune, so constructed, was consumed by fire in December, 1621, and the following paragraph in a letter from John Chamberlain, to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated the 15th of that month, gives an account of this catastrophe. 'On Sunday night, here was a great 'fire at the Fortune, in Golding Lane, the first play-'house in this town. It was quite burnt down in two 'hours, and all their apparel and play-books lost, 'whereby those poor companions are quite undone*.' Malone brought this letter to light, and having done so, it is singular that he should not perceive that Dekker and Middleton, (whom he quotes under the date of 1611,) and Wright, who did not publish his *Historia Histrionica* until nearly ninety years after-

'What The Fortune cost me Nov. 1599. £

'First for the leas to Brew 240

'Then for building the play-howse 520

'For other privat buildings of myn owne 120

'So it hath cost me in all for the leasse £880

'Bought the inheritance of the land of the Gills of the Isle of Man 'within the Fortune, and all the howses in Whight Crosstreet and 'Goulding lane, in June, 1610, for the some of 340*l.*

'Bought in John Garrets Lease in reversion from the Gills, for 21 'years, for 100*l.* So in all it cost me 1320*l.*

'Blessed be the Lord God everlasting.'

* Until this letter was found among Dr. Birch's MSS. in the British Museum (No. 4173), it was thought, on the mistaken authority of Howes, the continuator of Stowe's Chronicle, that the Fortune was consumed about 1617. Ben Jonson, in his *Execration upon Vulcan*, in reference to the burning of the Fortune, says,

——— 'Fortune, for being a whore,
'Scap'd not his justice any jot the more.'

wards, could not be speaking of the same theatre: he cites the subsequent lines, from the prologue to Dekker's and Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, 1611, played at the Fortune, in confirmation of Wright's assertion, that it was 'a *large* round brick building.'

'A roaring girl, (whose notes 'till now ne'er were,)
'Shall fill with laughter our *vast* theatre.'

It is the more extraordinary that Malone should have fallen into this mistake, because Prynne in the 'epistle dedicatory' to his *Histriomastix*, 1633, expressly states that the Fortune had been 'lately re-edified and enlarged,' and what was then constructed, was the 'large round brick building' mentioned by Wright. As to the word 'lately' employed by Prynne, it appears on different authority that the Fortune, having been consumed in 1621, was not again completed up to the beginning of 1623, although a time for the re-opening of the house seems to have been previously fixed. In '*Vox Graculi, or the Jack-Daw's Prognostications*, &c., for this year, 1623,' we meet with the following paragraph:—'The dugs of this 'delicate bed-fellow to the sun will so flow with the 'milk of profit and plenty, that (of all other) some 'players (if *Fortune*, turned Phœnix, fail not of her 'promise) will lie sucking at them, with their fulsome 'forecastings for pence and two-pences, like young 'pigs at a sow newly farrowed, for that they are in 'danger to meet with a hard winter, and be forced 'to travel softly on the hoof.' The publication consists of mock-progiostications for 1623, and it

was no doubt printed in the very commencement of that year: the words 'if Fortune, turned Phœnix, fail not of her promise,' refer to the burning and re-building of the Fortune Theatre, which the players had 'promised' to open by a particular time: if they failed to do so, then it was prophesied that they would be obliged 'to travel softly on the hoof' round the country for a maintenance*.

The Theatre thus re-constructed, as we may presume in 1623, (a circumstance to which none of our dramatic historians have referred,) was pulled down in 1661. In the *Mercurius Politicus*, from Tuesday, February 14th, to Tuesday, February 21st, in that year, it was advertised to be let, in order that twenty-three tenements with gardens might be erected on the ground it occupied: what was to be the size of the tenements with gardens is not stated, but unless they were very small indeed, the Fortune and the buildings attached to it must have occupied a considerable space. The advertisement is drawn up in this form —'The Fortune play-house, situate between White-'cross Street, and Golding Lane, in the parish of St. 'Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belong-

* In *London's Lamentation for her Sins*, by W. C., Pastor of White-Chapel, 1625, written on occasion of the great plague, the following passage occurs, which seems to refer to the re-construction and enlargement of the Fortune theatre, then completed. 'And when as thy Gospell had 'glutted us, so as holy lectures begun to be now held like meat out of 'season, and preaching in some places put down, yet even then, Oh 'Lord, were the *Theatres magnified and enlarged*, where Satan is served, 'and sin secretly instilled, if not openly professed.'

'ing, is to be let to be built upon; where twenty-'three tenements may be erected, with gardens; and 'a street may be cut through for the better accom-'modation of the buildings.'

We have seen that after the original construction of the Fortune, in 1599-1600, it was in the possession of the theatrical servants of the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, of whom Edward Alleyn was one, and from his distinguished talents as a performer, and from his interest in the theatre, we can have no doubt that he was at the head of the company. On the accession of James I., the Lord Admiral's players were taken under the protection of Prince Henry, and so they remained until his decease. On the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine, the players of Prince Henry were transferred to him, and he procured for them a Patent under the Great Seal, very similar to that which James had granted to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, in 1603. This document (which is inserted in the 'Annals of the Stage,' i. 380) contradicts Malone's assertion, that Edward Alleyn did not retire until 1616*, for his name is not

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 222. Malone is extremely loose in his statements at times: having said, in p. 222, that Alleyn performed 'till 1616,' in a note on the next page he observes, 'it appears from 'one of Lord Bacon's letters, dated August 18, 1618, that Alleyn had 'in that year left the stage;' and then he quotes five words from the letter which prove no such thing, and no such thing can be proved from that authority. Lord Bacon, as Chancellor, is writing to the Marquis of Buckingham, and he commences with these expressions: 'I thank 'your Lordship for your last loving letter. I now write to give the

enumerated with the rest in the Patent, where it must have appeared, had he then had any connection with the company as an actor. The fact undoubtedly is that Alleyn had quitted the stage before the death of Henry, and before the Household-book of that Prince, containing a list of his players, and omitting, like the Patent, the name of Alleyn, was made out*. The Privy Seal for the Patent, to the 'servants of our son-in-law the Elector Palatine,' to perform 'at their now

'King an account of a Patent I have stayed at the Seal. It is of 'licence to give in mortmain eight hundred pound land, though it be 'of tenure in chief, to Alleyn that *was* the Player, for an hospital.' This does not at all show that Alleyn 'had in that year left the stage,' or anything like it; but merely that Alleyn, who had, *at some former period*, been a player, was then soliciting for the licence to found his hospital of Dulwich College. Alleyn had certainly retired from the stage before 1612. When he commenced player we have no information; but having been born in 1566, before 1592 he had acquired extraordinary reputation, as appears from the following, hitherto unquoted, passage in Nash's *Strange Newes* (one of his tracts against Gabriel Harvey), printed with that date. 'Signior *Immerito* (so called be-'cause he was and is his friend undeservedly) was counterfeitly brought 'in to play a part in that his Enterlude of Epistles, that was hissed at, 'thinking his very name (as the name of Ned Alleyn on the common 'stage) was able to make an ill matter good.' Alleyn was at the head of a company in September, 1593, when *A Knack to know a Knave* was entered on the Stationers' books, as 'sundry times played by Ned Allen and his Company.' Having left the stage, but not having parted entirely with his interest in theatrical concerns, he founded Dulwich College in 1619, and died in November, 1626.

* Under the head of 'Comedyanes and Playores.' At what precise date this book, which forms No. 252 of the Harleian MSS., was compiled, does not anywhere appear in it; possibly not until after the death of the Prince.—See 'Annals of the Stage,' i. 351. Thomas Towne was then at the head of the company.

usual house, called the Fortune,' and elsewhere in the King's dominions, is dated the 4th Jan. 1612-13 *.

At the date of the fire in 1621, the company who had possession of the Fortune were called the Palsgrave's servants; but the company which, prior to Easter 1640, had performed at the Fortune, changed to the Red Bull theatre in St. John's-street, and the Prince's company went to the Fortune. In *Fancies Theatre*, 1640, is 'A Prologue upon the removing of the late Fortune players to the Bull,' by J. Tatham, in which he requests the audience to remark that the curtains are 'pure Naples silk, not *worsted*,' and to forbear the 'wonted custom' of throwing pieces of tile or pears against them 'to lure the actors forth.' We may, therefore, conclude that at this date the Red Bull was superior to the Fortune †.

* Prior to 1614, though the precise date cannot now be fixed, the Fortune was sometimes used for other purposes than the exhibition of plays. In October of that year, John Taylor, the Water-poet, challenged William Fennor to a trial of extempore versifying at the Hope, and published an account of the disappointment, in consequence of Fennor not having ventured to meet him, although he had undertaken to do so. To this tract Fennor wrote a *Defence*, which, together with Taylor's reply (called *A Cast over the Water to William Fennor*), is printed among the *Works of John Taylor*, fol. 1630. In his *Defence*, Fennor excuses his absence, by reference to a similar occurrence, when he gave a challenge of the same kind to a person of the name of Kendall, to compete with him at the Fortune.

'And let me tell thee this to calm thy rage:
'I challeng'd Kendall on the *Fortune* stage,
'And he did promise, 'fore an audience,
'For to oppose me,' &c.

† From Lysons' *Environs*, under the head 'Dulwich,' it appears that in 1647 the rent of the Fortune was in arrear.

A sign was hung out at the Fortune, as well as at the Globe and other playhouses, but whether it was a statue or a picture, or a painted statue*, and therefore both picture and statue, may admit of doubt. Reed, in his edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*, was the first to quote the following lines upon this point from T. Heywood's *English Traveller*, Act iv.—

——————'I'll rather stand here
'Like a statue in the forefront of your house
'For ever—like the picture of dame Fortune
'Before the Fortune Playhouse.'

It did not occur to Malone, who adopts Reed's quotation, to inquire whether Heywood was alluding to the old Fortune theatre, burnt in 1621, or to the new one, built after that calamity. *The English Traveller* was printed in 1633, and it was probably written after 1621, so that the author is speaking of the representation of Fortune placed upon the building after its reconstruction; but it seems likely that it was only the revival of the sign that had been exposed since the first erection of the theatre. As to the words 'statue' and 'picture,' it is to be remarked, that they were sometimes used synonymously by old

* It was not unusual in the time of Shakespeare to paint busts and statues. One of the most remarkable instances is that of the poet himself, whose bust in the church at Stratford-upon-Avon was coloured, with the eyes, hair, and complexion, (to say nothing of the clothes) as they existed, or may be supposed to have existed in the original. Malone, in his ignorance of the practice, and shocked at the apparent barbarism of such a representation, procured the bust to be covered with a coat of white paint.

writers, as if the custom of painting statues had confused their notions of the difference between a statue and a picture*.

It is to be presumed that the Fortune theatre was pulled down in pursuance of the advertisement of 1661, already quoted.

THE ROSE, HOPE, SWAN, AND NEWINGTON THEATRES.

It is clear that there were theatres on the Bankside, near the foot of London-bridge, prior to 1587, for, in October of that year, some of the inhabitants of Southwark complained that plays and interludes were still represented on the Sabbath, 'especially within the 'Liberty of the Clink and within the parish of St. 'Saviour's †.'

* An instance, somewhat in point, will be found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act iv. Sc. 4; and there is a singular passage, to the same effect, in T. Heywood's *If you know not me, you know Nobody*, first published in 1606, where Sir Thomas Gresham is told—

'Your ship, in which all the king's *pictures* were,
'From Brute unto our Queen Elizabeth,
'*Drawn in white marble*, by a storm at sea
'Is wreck'd and lost.'

Here we have *pictures* of kings 'drawn in *white marble*,' so that, at all events, the poet did not mean that they were coloured. Stowe also, in his Annals, speaking of the attack upon the cross in Cheapside, in 1581, says, that the mob finding they could not pull down the 'lowest images,' 'plucked the *picture* of Christ out of his mother's lap, whereon he sate.'

† Vide 'Annals of the Stage,' i. 278.

I should date the building of the Rose therefore considerably prior to 1587, as, in 1591, it was extensively repaired by Philip Henslowe, to whom it belonged, and who rented the ground on which it stood. The following items are extracted from Henslowe's Diary in Dulwich College: they are a few among a great many thus headed, 'A note of such charges as I have lay'd owt abowte my play-howsse.' It is dated 1592, but the account begins in 1591—

	s.	d.
'Itm Lent the thecher (thatcher) .	20	0
'Itm pd for payntinge my stage .	11	0
'Itm pd for sellynge (ceiling) the rome ner the tyerhowsse.	10	0
'Itm pd for sellings to my Lords Rome	4	0
'Itm pd for makinge the penthowsse shed at the tyeringe howse doore .	10	0

Malone saw nothing of these curious particulars, though the MS. was for years in his hands, and he merely states, on the authority of an old satirist, that the Rose was built before 1598*. In the same Diary are other accounts, dated 1593, from which it is evident that certain playhouses in which Henslowe was concerned, but which are not named, were then repaired: one of them is thus entitled, 'A note of 'what I have layd owt abowt my playhowses for 'payntinge and doinge abowt with ealme bordes, and 'other reparacyones as foloweth, 1593, in Lent.' These repairs, therefore, were made in Lent while the theatres

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 54.

were closed: the words 'doing about with elm boards' refer to the external wood-work of the houses. At this period Henslowe certainly had an interest in the Rose and the Newington theatres, if not in others. Many, if not most of the older plays he enumerates in his Diary, must have been performed at one or other of these houses.

I have not found any other notice of the Rose by name in the MS. prior to 1600, on the 28th of October of which year Lord Pembroke's men began to perform there. The Rose (with the exception of Paris Garden, which was used both for plays and bear-baiting) was, I imagine, the oldest theatre on the Bank-side. In 1603, when Henslowe treated for the renewal of the lease of the ground on which it stood, he called it 'the little Rose,' and it was clearly of small dimensions. How soon after 1603 his lease was to expire he does not mention, but on the 25th of June, in that year, he minutes down the substance of conversations he had had at a scrivener's with the ground landlord, when he was required, if the lease were renewed, to pay 20*l.* a-year rent, and to lay out 100 marks upon the building: his determination on this proposal was, that he would rather 'pull down the playhouse,' than accede to terms he considered so exorbitant.

The Rose and Curtain seem to have been in good reputation in 1598, when *Skialetheia, or the Shadow of Truth*, a collection of satires and epigrams, was printed. In the fifth satire we meet with the following mention of them—

'Here may I sit, yet walk to Westminster,
'And hear Fitzherbert, Plowden, Brooke and Dyer,
'Canvas a law-case: or if my dispose
'Persuade me to a play, I'll to the *Rose*
'Or *Curtain*, one of Plautus' Comedies,
'Or the pathetic Spaniard's Tragedies.'

Unless the performances at these houses were popular, it is singular that the writer of *Skialetheia* should specify them, particularly as the Globe and Blackfriars were then both open, and Shakespeare a principal writer for them.

Respecting the first construction of the Hope theatre on the Bankside, we have no information, but there can be little doubt that it was in existence considerably before 1600, and we may infer that some time before the date of Taylor's (the water-poet) *Watermen's Suit concerning Players*, in 1613, it had been only used as a bear-garden. That tract was written before the burning of the Globe in June, 1613; and after noticing the first arrival of the players on the Bankside, when they originally quitted London and Middlesex, he speaks of their subsequent desertion of that quarter, adding, that he had known 'three companies, besides the bear-'baiting, at once, there—to wit, the Globe, the Rose, 'and the Swan.' The bear-baiting was both at the Hope and at Paris Garden, neither of which Taylor includes: he complains farther, that in 1613, 'all 'the players, except the king's men, had left their 'usual residency on the Bankside and played in 'Middlesex, far remote from the Thames.' The fact may be, that prior to this date, during which

period Shakespeare continued to write for 'the king's men,' no other company could make it answer to perform in the same vicinity, and, consequently, removed to the other side of the water.

The burning of the Globe appears to have led to the return of some of the players to the Bankside, and to the conversion of the Hope again into a playhouse. Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was represented there on the 31st of October, 1614; and he bears testimony to its condition, and to the dramatic decorum of choosing that theatre, inasmuch as it was 'as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit,' in consequence of the use to which it had previously been applied. On the 7th of October, preceding the production of Ben Jonson's play, Taylor, as we have seen, had challenged William Fennor, an extempore rhymer, to 'answer him at a trial of wit' at the Hope. Fennor failed of his appointment, and his antagonist consequently wrote a violent attack upon him*, and hence we learn (as far as this author's testimony is of value) that the actors at the Hope were—

——————'such a company, I'll boldly say,
'That better (nor the like) e'er play'd a play.'

They were called the servants of the Princess Elizabeth. Taylor informs us, also, that the Hope was tiled (which, as will have been observed, by the payment of Henslowe, in 1591, to the thatcher, the Rose was not) and

* Works of Taylor, the Water-poet, folio, 1630, p. 142. The paging of the volume is very irregular, and there are three pages marked 142 in it. I refer to the second.

that it was furnished with hangings. It had also its 'tiring-house,' for the stage-keeper in *Bartholomew Fair* tells the audience that the author had kicked him three or four times about it for 'offering to put in with his experience,' though he had 'kept the stage in Master Tarlton's time.' If it be to be understood that he had kept that particular stage in Tarlton's time, the Hope must have been in existence prior to 1588.

The proximity of the Hope, while yet a bear-garden, to the Rose is to be gathered from the following ironical passage in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, in allusion to it:—'Thou hadst a breath as sweet as the Rose—that grows by the bear-garden.' The atmosphere, therefore, at the Rose was impregnated with the effluvia from the Hope.

The Swan, also on the Bank-side, but more to the westward, was a theatre in some repute anterior to 1598, and Robert Wilson (as is stated by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, fol. 286) gave a challenge there at extempore versification, and came off victorious. His antagonist on the occasion is not named. In 1603 William Fennor (or Vennor as his name is sometimes spelt) got up a piece at the Swan called *England's Joy*, a sort of shew relating to the life and apotheosis of Queen Elizabeth. It had been abandoned, as mentioned by Taylor, in 1613, and we are without any distinct evidence that it was ever afterwards used as a regular playhouse. Malone has stated*,

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 56.

on the authority of Sir H. Herbert's office-book, that both the Rose and the Swan, after 1620, were only employed occasionally by gladiators and fencers. That such continued to be the case in 1632, may be gathered from a pamphlet then printed called *Holland's Leaguer*, where the author speaks of 'three famous amphitheatres,' the Globe, the Hope and the Rose, 'which 'stood so near situated, that the eye might take view 'of them from the lowest turret.' Of the Globe only he remarks, that 'half the year a world of beauties and brave spirits resorted unto it,' referring to its continued popularity as a theatre devoted to the representation of dramatic productions.

The theatre at Newington Butts was certainly of ancient foundation, and it appears to have been originally opened for the amusement of those who strolled out of London in the summer to amuse themselves with shooting at the target, or otherwise. One of Henslowe's accounts is thus entitled :—'In the name 'of God, Amen, beginninge at Newington, my lord 'Admirells men and my lord Chamberlens men as 'foloweth, 1594,' showing that two companies of players acted there, previously to the completion of the Globe, after which the Lord Chamberlain's servants confined themselves to their new theatre and to the Blackfriars. Howes, enumerating seventeen common playhouses built in London and the suburbs within the sixty years preceding 1631, mentions 'one in former time at Newington Butts.'

Chalmers asserts that it was in existence before

1586*, and that it is mentioned in the Privy Council Registers under date of 11th of May in that year; but he confounds it with the playhouse emphatically called 'the Theatre' in Shoreditch, and on consulting the Register, I find that no such playhouse as the Newington theatre is there spoken of. How long anterior to 1594, when it was mentioned by Henslowe, it had been erected, no where appears, nor do we at all know when it ceased to be employed. The old *Hamlet*, the old *Taming of a Shrew*, preceding Shakespeare's plays, *Titus Andronicus*, Marlow's *Jew of Malta*, *Tamburlaine*, and many others were performed there, and Henslowe enters his proportion of the profits on these occasions as amounting sometimes to 3*l.* or 4*l.* He must either have had a very considerable share in the concern, or the house must have been large.

In Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock*, printed in 1612, and written two or three years earlier, Sir Abraham, a silly gull, is complacently repeating to himself some lines he had written to mollify his mistress, two of which run thus—

'I die, I sigh, thou precious stony jewel!
'Wearing of silk, why art thou still so cruel?

punning upon the words 'crewel' and 'cruel;' on which Pendant, who overhears him, ejaculates, aside—

'Oh Newington conceit! and quieting eke;'

which was probably meant to ridicule the nature of

* Apology, 403.

the performances at the Newington theatre, which might not then be entirely discontinued. It is the only reference to this playhouse that I have met with in any dramatic poet or pamphleteer of the time.

THE RED BULL THEATRE.

We have no account of the date of the erection and opening of the Red Bull, which stood at the upper end of St. John Street. It seems most likely that it was originally an inn yard, like the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill, where we know, from Gosson's *School of Abuse*, that plays were performed before 1579. The same puritanical writer, indeed, mentions 'the Bull,' where the 'prose book' of *The Jew and Ptolemy* was performed, but he alludes to the Bull Inn in Bishopgate Street. Malone was in possession of no information on the point, and merely states that the Red Bull was one of the playhouses open in the time of Shakespeare. I apprehend that it was constructed, or converted into a regular theatre late in the reign of Elizabeth; and in the commencement of that of James I., we find the Queen's servants, who had been the Earl of Worcester's players, exhibiting there.

George Wither, in 1613, published his *Abuses stript and whipt*, and he several times speaks of the Red Bull, and of the performances there in terms of no great respect, coupling it with the Curtain, which

seems to have had no better reputation: in his first satire, for instance, he introduces a ruffling lover, courting his mistress, and of him he remarks,

'His poetry is such as he can cull
'From plays he heard at Curtain or at Bull *.'

Wentworth Smith's *Hector of Germany*, 1615, purports to have been 'publicly acted at the Red Bull, 'and at the Curtain, by a company of young men of 'the city,' as if at that time those houses were not in constant use by a regular company; yet Thomas Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*, of the same date, shows that 'the Queen's Majesty's servants' were still at least in occasional occupation of the Red Bull, for the title-page states in terms that it was acted there. It is doubtful, however, whether the edition of 1615 be the earliest, and there is ground for believing that the piece was produced at least some years before it was printed. *Swetnam the Woman-hater, arraigned by Women* †, written on a temporary subject about 1619,

* In *Albumazar*, 1615, Trincalo couples it with the Fortune—'Oh, 'tis Armellina! now, if she have the wit to begin, as I mean 'she should, then will I confound her with compliments drawn from 'the plays I see at the Fortune and Red Bull, where I learn all the 'words I speak and understand not.'

† This anonymous old play contains some fine writing, and is a highly creditable performance. The following couplet, which closes the second scene of the fourth Act, is one of the noblest and justest images in our language:—

'Justice, like lightning, ever should appear
'To few men's ruin, but to all men's fear.'

It is far better than Webster's celebrated simile, which is neither

and printed in 1620, as it was 'acted at the Red Bull by the late Queen's servants,' proves that they continued there until the death of Anne, when, of course, they ceased to be her players. Thomas Heywood became one of the Queen's servants on the accession of James I., and his duodecimo, entitled *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637, is a collection of short pieces, written by him 'upon several occasions,' and at dates remote from each other. Among them we find a Prologue and Epilogue to *Richard III.*, when the principal part was played by 'a young witty lad at the Red Bull,' but we have no clue to the date of this performance.

The Red Bull is one of the 'two old playhouses' which Prynne states, in the Dedication to his *Histriomastix*, 1633, had been 'lately re-edified and enlarged;' and if any proof can be gathered from this fact, we may possibly infer, that it was of about the same age as the Fortune, which was the other old playhouse, which had also been rebuilt upon an enlarged plan. In Randolph's *Muses' Looking Glass*, the puritanical Mrs. Flowerdew mentions the Bull as one of the playhouses of which a brother had zealously prayed for the demolition *. Randolph died in 1634, at the age of

noble nor just, but which he was so fond of, that he used it in one play (*Vittoria Corombona*, 1612), and repeated it in another (*Duchess of Malfi*, 1623).

'Glories, like glow-worms, afar off shine bright,
'But look'd to near, have neither heat nor light.'

* Act i., Sc. 1. Dodsley's Old Plays, last Edit. ix. 148.

twenty-seven; and as we do not know precisely when his *Muses' Looking Glass* was written, we cannot decide whether he speaks of the Red Bull as it stood before it was 're-edified and enlarged,' or afterwards.

In the year 1622, according to Sir Henry Herbert's office book, 'the players of the Revels' had possession of the Red Bull; but it never seems to have been in very good repute*. In 1630 (in some lines prefixed to Davenant's *Just Italian*, acted at the Blackfriars), T. Carew very severely handles the performers at the Red Bull and Cock-pit—

——————'they'll still slight
'All that exceeds Red Bull or Cockpit flight.
'These are the men in crowded heaps that throng
'To that adulterate stage, where not a tongue
'Of th' untun'd kennel can a line repeat
'Of serious sense.'

After the suppression of the theatres, in 1647, the Red Bull seems to have been used for the clandestine representation of plays; and in the 'Annals of the Stage' (ii. 118) will be found an account of the arrest of players there, on 20th December, 1649. It is one of the deserted theatres enumerated by Sir Aston Cockayne, in his Præludium to Richard Brome's *Five New Plays*, 1652; yet on the title-page of Robert Cox's *Acteon and Diana* (2d Edit., 1656), it is said that it was acted at the Red Bull with great applause.

It was not pulled down until some time after the

* Sampson and Markham's *Herod and Antipater* was played by 'the Company of the Revels,' at the Red Bull, and printed in 1622.

Restoration; and when Davenant produced his *Playhouse to be Let*, in 1663, it was entirely abandoned: 'the Red Bull (he says) stands empty for fencers: 'there are no tenants in it but spiders.' The king's actors, under Thomas Killigrew, had previously played there, until they removed to the new theatre in Drury Lane.

THE COCKPIT, OR PHŒNIX.

The Cockpit theatre, which was also sometimes called the Phœnix*, (as Malone plausibly conjectures from the sign by which it was distinguished,) was certainly not converted into a playhouse until after James I. had been some time on the throne. How long before that date it had been used, as the name implies, as a place for the exhibition of cock-fighting, we are without such information as will enable us to form even a conjecture. Camden, in his Annals of James I., speaking of the attack upon it in March, 1616-17, says that the Cockpit theatre was then *nuper erectum*, by which we

* Randolph, in his *Muses' Looking Glass*, terms it 'the Phœnix,' as well as Sir Aston Cockayne, in his Præludium to Brome's *Five New Plays*, 1652—

'Then shall learn'd Jonson re-assume his seat,
'Revive the Phœnix by a second heat.'

Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, expressly tells us, that it was called 'the Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane.' It seems by degrees to have lost the name of the Cockpit, as the memory of cock-fighting there died away.

are to understand, perhaps, that it had been lately converted from a cockpit into a playhouse. Howes, in his Continuation of Stow, adverting to the same event, calls it 'a new playhouse,' as if it had then been recently built from the foundation.

Queen Anne's servants (of whom Thomas Heywood was one) played just after the death of Elizabeth at the Red Bull*, but they appear subsequently to have removed to the Cockpit, and they continued to perform there at the time when the apprentices and the mob attacked it on Shrove-Tuesday, the 4th March, 1616-17.

Prynne asserts, and there could be no doubt of the fact without his assertion, that the neighbourhood of a theatre was always filled with houses of ill-fame †, and he particularly points out the Cockpit in Drury Lane, as a great encouragement of immorality: he is careful not to state matters of the kind on his own knowledge:—'this I have heard (he says) on good intelli-'gence; that our common strumpets and adulteresses, 'after our stage-plays ended, are often times prosti-'tuted near our playhouses, if not in them; that our 'theatres, if they are not bawdy-houses, (as they may 'easily be, since many players, if reports be true, are

* Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1608, purports to have been 'acted' by her Majestics servants at the Red Bull,' and possibly they played there until the Cockpit was ready to receive them. In later copies, into which a variety of new matter is introduced, it is said that the piece was performed at the Cockpit or Phœnix.

† Histriomastix, 1633, p. 390.

'common pandars,) yet they are cousin-germans, at 'leastwise neighbours to them: witness the Cockpit 'and Drury Lane; Blackfriars playhouse and Duke 'Humphries; the Red Bull and Turnball-street; the 'Globe and Bankside brothel-houses, with others of 'this nature.' This, in fact, was the origin of the animosity of the London apprentices against the Cockpit, in March, 1616-17, for at Shrovetide they had always exercised the privilege of assailing and putting down houses of ill-fame. Camden says, *à furente multitudine diruitur, et apparatus dilaceratur;* but the fact does not quite bear out this statement, as will be seen by the account of the event in the 'Annals of the Stage' (i. 401). Howes in his Continuation of Stow, speaks more cautiously: he observes, that 'the disordered persons,' having assembled in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 'spoiled' the playhouse, and they certainly rendered it unfit for use for a short time, besides tearing the dresses and burning many of the books. Soon afterwards we find the Queen's servants again performing at the Cockpit.

Malone suggests that after the death of Anne in 1619, the Queen's servants became those of the Princess Elizabeth, and were so called until the marriage of Charles I. in 1625, when they again took their old designation. In confirmation of this opinion, it may be noticed, that William Rowley's *All's lost by Lust,* 1633, (in which the author played Jaques, 'a simple clownish gentleman,') purports to have been 'divers times acted by the Lady Elizabeth's servants,

'and now lately by her Majesty's servants, with great 'applause, at the Phœnix in Drury Lane.' Hence it is clear that it was brought out between 1619 and 1625, and that it was revived at the same theatre not long before 1633.

In what has been said of the Red Bull playhouse, it will be seen that T. Carew, in 1630, puts the performances there and at the Cockpit on a level, and from two lines in F. Lenton's *Young Gallants' Whirligig*, 1629, it is evident that the productions at the Cockpit were usually esteemed of an inferior description to those at the Blackfriars:—

'The Cockpit heretofore would serve his wit,
'But now upon the Friars stage he'll sit,' &c.

The *Hannibal and Scipio* of Thomas Nabbes, and the same author's *Bride* (both pieces of no great merit) were performed respectively in 1635 and 1638 by 'the 'Queen's servants at their private house in Drury 'Lane.'

Richard Brome's excellent comedy *The Antipodes*, printed in 1640, was 'acted (as the title-page informs 'us) in the year 1638, by the Queen's Majesty's 'servants, at Salisbury Court in Fleet-street,' so that this play, comparing it with the title-page of *The Bride* by Nabbes, shows the precise date at which the Queen's players left the Cockpit and went to the Salisbury Court theatre, viz., 1638, between the time when *The Bride* was brought out at the former and *The Antipodes* at the latter. At the end of the last of these plays we read the following note by the

author of it:—'Courteous Reader, you shall find 'in this book more than was presented upon the stage, 'and left out of the presentation for superfluous length '(as some of the players pretended): I thought good 'it should be inserted according to the allowed original, 'and as it was at first intended for the Cockpit stage, 'in the right of my most deserving friend, Mr. Wil-'liam Beeston, unto whom it properly appertained; 'and so I leave it to thy perusal, as it was generally 'applauded and well acted at Salisbury Court. Fare-'well. RI. BROME.'

It will be seen in the Annals of the Stage, that it was precisely at this date that William Beeston collected, what Sir H. Herbert calls 'a company of boys, and began to play with them at the Cockpit.' He mentions having at the same time 'disposed of Per-'kins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner to Salisbury 'Court,' and no doubt some or all of them assisted in the performance of Brome's *Antipodes*.

We learn from Wright * and several other authorities, that the Cockpit was standing after the Restoration, and Sir W. Davenant's company, called the Duke's players, acted there until they removed to the new theatre in Portugal Row in the spring of 1662.

* *Historia Histrionica*, 1699.

DETAILS

CONNECTED WITH THE PERFORMANCE

OF

PLAYS.



PUBLIC AND PRIVATE THEATRES.

Our old Theatres were either public or private: 'what '(says Malone *) were the distinguishing marks of a 'private playhouse it is not easy to ascertain. We know 'only that it was smaller than those which were called 'public theatres, and that in the private theatres, plays 'were usually presented by candle-light.'

From various authorities, I find that there were seven 'distinguishing marks of a private playhouse.'

1. Private theatres were of smaller dimensions than public theatres.

2. They were entirely roofed in from the weather, while public theatres were open to the sky, excepting over the stage and boxes, or rooms.

3. The performances at private theatres were by candle or torch light.

4. They had *pits*, furnished with seats; and not *yards*, as they were called in public theatres, where the spectators stood to behold the play.

5. The audiences at private theatres usually consisted of a superior class of persons.

6. The visiters there had a right to sit upon the stage during the performances.

7. The boxes or rooms of private theatres were inclosed and locked.

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 61.

The first distinction depends rather upon inference than upon positive testimony. Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, mentions that the three private houses, the Blackfriars, the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and the theatre in Salisbury Court, were 'built almost exactly alike, for form and bigness.' Nabbes's Comedy of *Tottenham Court* (printed in 1638) was acted at Salisbury Court, in 1633, and from the epilogue we find that, compared with others, it was a small theatre: the author says:—

——————'If I win
'Your kind commands, 'twill bring more custom in:
'When others' fill'd rooms with neglect disdain ye,
'My *little house* (with thanks) shall entertain ye.'

Wright informs us, in the same paragraph from which I have above quoted, that the large public theatres, the Globe, Fortune, and Bull, 'lay partly open to the weather.' Had the private theatres been exposed in the same manner, it would have been almost impossible to have carried on the performances by means of candles or torches.

It does not follow, because the plays at private theatres were acted by candle or torch light, that the performances took place at night. On the contrary, according to 'the remedies' proposed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, about the period when the Blackfriars theatre was built, it was recommended that the performance of plays should conclude at such an hour that the audience might return home 'before sun-set, or, at least, before it be dark.' It is true that this order then principally applied to the exhibitions in inn-yards; but we may conclude, from a passage in Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sins of London*, 1606, that the windows of private play-houses were put down, when it was intended that the stage should

represent night: the torches were probably also then partly extinguished, or removed for the same purpose, as light seems to have been derived from both: his words are: 'all the city looked like a private playhouse, when 'the *windows are clapped down*, as if some *nocturnal* or 'dismal tragedy were presently to be acted.' Marston's *What you Will*, 1607, was most likely performed at Blackfriars, but certainly at a private theatre; and in the Induction, Doricus and Philomuse, who are supposed to be part of the audience, are directed to sit a good while on the stage before candles are lighted. When, just afterwards, Doricus exclaims, 'Let there be no deeds of darkness done among us,' he must, of course, refer to the comparative obscurity of the house before the candles were lighted. That torches were also used at Blackfriars, we find from Francis Lenton's *Young Gallant's Whirligig*, 1629:—

——— 'all his spangled, rare, perfum'd attires,
'Which once so glister'd at the *torchy Friars*,
'Must to the broker's.'

The Prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, performed before 1646, may be quoted for the double purpose of showing that in the pits of private theatres the audience were accommodated with seats, and that the visitors consisted of a superior class to the ordinary attendants of public theatres. That play, designed for the Blackfriars, was, in fact, performed at the Globe; and the author tells the spectators plainly, that he 'did not calculate it for that meridian,' and advises them to suppose they were not at the Globe, but at the Blackfriars:

——— 'and *sit*
'As you were now in the Blackfriars' *pit*.'

He had previously told the 'grave *understanders*,'

——— 'the Bankside, he knows,
'Are far more skilful at the ebbs and flows
'Of water than of wit'—

and he warns them not to expect, in his play, the 'target fighting' and 'cutlers' work,' to which at the Globe they were accustomed *. The audiences at the private houses, for one of which Shirley's play was written, were not usually treated with these vulgar noisy exhibitions; and Nabbes, in 1635, addressing those who were collected to see his *Hannibal and Scipio*, at the private theatre called the Cockpit in Drury Lane, informs the ladies that they need not there

——— 'fear the horrid sight,
'And the more horrid noise of target fight,
'By the blue-coated stage-keepers: our spheres
'Have better music to delight your ears.'

W. Fennor, (as well as many other authors,) in his *Descriptions*, 1616, speaks with great contempt of that part of the audience in a public theatre which occupied the *yard:* he calls them, ironically, the 'understanding, grounded men,' and then adds:—

'Let but one ask the reason why they roar,
'They 'll answer, 'cause the rest did so before:
'But leave we these, who for their just reward
'Shall gape and gaze among the *fools in the yard*.'

* It is difficult to imagine how such a prologue could have been delivered without mortal offence, and perhaps it never was spoken. It was first printed in the collection of Shirley's Poems, in 1646, and there the first line stands thus:—

'Gentlemen, I am only sent to say,' &c.;

but when the play was printed in 1652, the author left out the word 'Gentlemen,' as if he repented that he had condescended to apply it to the audience at the Globe:

'All that the Prologue comes for is to say,' &c.

That there were, however, degrees in the private theatres is clear from two lines in a tract before quoted, (F. Lenton's *Young Gallant's Whirligig*,) where, speaking of his hero, he says—

'The *Cockpit* heretofore would serve his wit,
'But now upon the *Friars'* stage he'll *sit*.'

This brings us to the next point, viz., the intrusion of spectators on the stage, where they used to stand, lie, or sit, very much to the annoyance of the actors and to the injury of the scene. In the induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, 1604, the Tireman wishes to remove Sly and others, supposed to form part of the audience, to which Sly replies—'Why, we *may* sit upon the stage at the *private house*:' there is reason to believe that here it might be insisted upon as a right, though not always enforced; for in the induction to another of Marston's plays, *What you Will*, Atticus says to his two companions—'Let's place 'ourselves within the curtains, for good faith, the stage 'is so very little.' This remark applied probably to the private house of the Blackfriars. Nevertheless, according to Dekker's *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, elsewhere cited, the most confident and obtrusive gallants sometimes 'published their fine suits' to the same advantage, even at the public playhouses. The expression there used of 'the *opposed* rascality,' shows that such a practice was ill endured at the public theatre; but that Dekker, in this quotation, particularly refers to a public theatre is evident from what he adds: 'neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the scarecrows in the *yard* hoot at you.' The term *yard* was peculiar to public theatres: if he had intended to include private theatres he would also have used the word *pit*. Malone, who makes various quotations from

this pamphlet, failed to remark the import of this passage *.

The boxes or rooms at private theatres were enclosed and locked, and the key given to the individual engaging them. Among the Strafford Letters (i. 511), is one, quoted by Malone, from Mr. Garrard, which, under date of January 5, 1635, contains the following sentence:—'A little 'pique happened betwixt the Duke of Lenox and the 'Lord Chamberlain about a box at a new play in the 'Blackfriars, of which the Duke had got *the key*.' Of course the rooms or boxes must have been separated from each other at the public theatres, and the word 'rooms' seems to imply, that they were there so enclosed as to form them into distinct apartments. Generally speaking, no places seem to have been kept either at public or private theatres; and W. Fennor, in his *Counter's Commonwealth*, 1617, observes, 'each man sate down 'without respecting of persons, for he that first comes is 'first seated, like those that come to see plays.'

* Lenton, in his *Young Gallant's Whirligig*, 1629, makes no difference between public and private theatres in this respect.

'This golden ass, in this hard iron age,
'Aspireth now to sit upon the stage:
'Looks round about, then views his glorious self,
'Throws money here and there, swearing hang pelf,
'As if the splendour of his mightiness
'Should never see worse days nor feel distress.'

It is to be observed, however, that in a subsequent part of his poem Lenton mentions the Blackfriars and the Cockpit, both private houses; but he adds that his gay hero also visited the Globe.

The following is more decisive:—'But turning my legacy to you 'ward, Barnaby Burning-glass, Arch-tobacco-taker of England, in 'ordinaries, upon stages *both common and private*.' *The Black Book*, 1604.

PRICE OF ADMISSION TO THEATRES.

The prices of admission, both to public and private theatres, seem to have varied according to their rank and estimation, and to have been raised on particular occasions.

At the close of Dekker's dedication of his play, *If it be not good the Devil is in it*, (printed in 1612,) to his 'friends and fellows' the Queen's servants, he wishes them 'a full audience and one honest door-keeper,' as if a single person was usually entrusted with the taking of the money, and was sufficient for the purpose *. The receipts were put into a box which he held: in the *Mouse-trap, Epigrams*, by H. P., 1606, are the following lines—

'Magus would needs, forsooth, the other day,
'Upon an idle humour, see a play,
'When asking him at door, who *held the box*,
'What might you call the play? quoth he The Fox,' &c.

* About half a century afterwards there seem to have been several doors, one within the other, at any of which the visitors of the theatre might pay: this occasioned confusion and fraud, and it was thought a sufficiently important matter to call for the royal interference. Accordingly the following order was issued, applicable to the Royal Theatre in 1664-5. It was found among the MSS. in the State Paper Office.

'Whereas complaint has been made unto us by our Servants, the 'Actors in the Royal Theatre, that divers persons refuse to pay at the 'first door of the said Theatre, thereby obliging the door-keepers to 'send after, sollicit, and importune them for their entrance money. 'For the prevention therefore of those disorders, and that such as are 'employed by the said Actors may have no opportunity of deceiving 'them, our will and pleasure is that all persons coming to the said 'Theatre shall, at the first door, pay their entrance money (to be restored 'to them again in case they return the same way before the end of 'the Act) requiring the guards attending there, and all whom it may 'concern, to see that obedience be given hereunto, and that the names 'of all who shall offer any violence contrary to this our pleasure be re-'turned to the Ld. Chamberlain of our Household.

'Given, &c., the 27th February, 1664-5. By, &c.'

In *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609, one of the characters remarks—'Tis even as common to see a basin at a church door, as a *box* at a playhouse,' meaning, of course, the box at the entrance of the theatre. Prynne bears testimony that such continued to be the custom in 1633, when he observes, (*Histriomastix*, p. 327,) 'the very 'contributing to *players boxes* (of which every common 'spectator must be always culpable) is not only apparent 'prodigality, but a giant-like vice.'

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was acted in 1614, at the Hope, a small dirty theatre, (which had been used also for bear-baiting,) on the Bankside; and according to the induction, the prices there varied from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* He stipulates that 'it shall be lawful for any man to judge 'his six-penny-worth, his twelve-penny-worth, so to his 'eighteen-pence, two-shillings, half-a-crown *, to the value 'of his place—provided always his place get not above 'his wit.' It is to be remembered, however, that this induction was probably written with a view to the first representation of the play, and that on those occasions additional charges were sometimes made to the spectators; and but for this temporary increase in the price of admission, it would be difficult to reconcile the sums stated by Ben Jonson with the low character he himself gives of the Hope theatre. From Taylor's (the Water-poet) Works †, it appears that when he challenged Fennor at the Hope, (who did not come, according to his undertaking,) to answer him *ex tempore*, a large audience was collected, and extra-money was paid on admission,

* 'The half-crown boxes' at theatres are also mentioned in Fletcher's *Wit without Money*, Act i. Sc. 1., which was played at the Cockpit in Drury-lane prior to 1620.

† 1630, p. 146.

in consequence, perhaps, of the unusual nature of the exhibition :—

'The audience all were wrong'd with great abuse:
'Great cause they had to take it in offence,
'To come from their affairs with such expence,
'By land and water, and then at the play
'So *extraordinary to pay;*
'And when the thing should be as they expected,
'Then nothing to their likings was effected.'

Jasper Mayne, alluding to the popularity of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, in his lines in memory of that poet, says,—

'So when the Fox had ten times acted been,
'Each day was *first*, but that 'twas *cheaper seen*'—

meaning, of course, that each day was as crowded as the first had been, only that the spectators were admitted at a cheaper rate than on the first day.

According to the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, before cited, the lowest sum taken at the door of the Hope, when that comedy was first played, was six-pence, but at the Fortune and Red Bull, which were large public theatres, there were two-penny rooms or galleries. As regards the former, this fact incontestably appears from the Articles of Agreement between Henslowe and Alleyn, on one part, and Street the Carpenter, on the other part, for its construction in 1599-1600; and in Dekker's and Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, 1611, one of the characters mentions having taken 'a nip' or pickpocket, in 'the two-penny gallery at the Fortune.' That 'gallery' and 'room' were here synonymous seems proved by the fact, that the Articles of Agreement call them 'two-penny rooms,' and the authors of *The Roaring Girl*, a 'two-penny gallery.' Dekker himself, in his *News from Hell*, 1606, uses the words 'two-penny rooms:' adverting to the omnipresence of the

Devil, he says: 'Every market-day you may take him in 'Cheapside, poorly attired, like an engrosser, and in the after-'noons in the *two-penny rooms* of a play-house, like a puny, 'seated cheek by jowl with a punk.' Again he speaks of 'two-penny galleries' in his *Seven Deadly Sins*, 1606 after describing crowds 'glewed together by the steams of strong breath,' and after alluding to the benefit reaped by players, in consequence of the arrival of foreign ambassadors who visited the theatres, he says, that Sloth will attract as large an audience, 'because 'tis given out that 'he will come and sit in the two-penny galleries amongst 'the gentlemen, and see their knaveries and pastimes *.' Here, of course, he uses the term 'gentlemen' ironically; for the two-penny gallery was the highest part of the house, as may be gathered from the following sentence in *Vox Graculi*, 1623: 'Give me leave to air your thoughts on a 'nimbler wing, where they shall fly in a high place, and 'from whence (as if you sat in the most perspicuous *two-'penny gallery* of a playhouse) you shall with perspicacity 'behold all the parts, which I (your new-come astrologer) 'shall act among the stars.'

Such, probably, continued to be the price of admission into this part of the Fortune and Bull, many years afterwards; for in Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, 1656 (acted at Salisbury-court Theatre), we read the following lines:—

——— 'I will hasten to the money-box,
'And take my shilling out again—
'I'll go to the Bull or Fortune, and there see
'A play for two-pence, and a jig to boot.'

* Dekker mentions the two-penny gallery again, generally, as if playhouses commonly had one, in his *Knight's Conjuring*, 1607: 'and 'the player loves a poet so long as the sickness lies in the *two-penny 'gallery*, when none will come into it.'

John Lyly, the author of *Pap with a Hatchet*, printed before 1590, informs us, in a marginal note, that if Martin Mar-prelate were exhibited on the stage, he could be seen 'at St. Paul's for four-pence, and at the Theatre for two-'pence.' On the other hand, with regard to the last, T. Nash, in his *Martin's Month's Mind*, 1589, states that the admission to 'the Theatre and the Curtain' was 'only a penny;' but the discrepancy may be reconciled by the passage already quoted from Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, 1576: 'those who go to Paris Garden, the Bell-'Savage, or Theatre, to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or 'fence-play, must not account of any pleasant spectacle, 'unless first they pay one penny at the gate, another at the 'entry of the Scaffold *, and a third for quiet standing.' So that when Lyly tells us that at 'the Theatre' it would cost two-pence to see Martin Mar-prelate brought upon the stage, he includes, perhaps, the two first payments of one penny at the gate, and another at the entry of the scaffold. 'Penny-rooms at theatres' are noticed in *The Black Book*, 1604; and 'penny galleries' (meaning probably the same part of the house), in the *Ant and the Nightingale*, by T. M., of the same date, where the author talks of the 'stinkards sitting in the *penny galleries* of a theatre, and yawning upon the players.'

Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*, 1607, was performed by the Children of St. Paul's, (who, by Lyly, are said to have

* The author of *A second and third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres*, 1580, speaks only of *scaffolds* for the accommodation of spectators, and of the 'young ruffians' and 'harlots' filling them; but Stephen Gosson, in his *Plays confuted in five Actions*, published before 1582, mentions 'rooms' for the reception of auditors; and I believe he is the earliest author that employs a term, afterwards in very common use.

charged four-pence before 1590,) and at that date the price of admission there was six-pence: the following passage is from the Induction: 'I spread myself open unto you; in 'cheaper terms I salute you; for ours have but *sixpenny* '*fees* all the year long, yet we dispatch you in two hours 'without demur: your suits hang not long after candles 'be lighted.' Hence it may be inferred that at other places, at particular seasons, perhaps during Term, higher charges were sometimes made.

In the epilogue to Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Tucca addresses the audience generally as '*two-penny* tenants,' having previously told them, 'I'll see you all here for your 'two-pence a-piece again, before I'll lose your company,' as if the price had been, for some reason, temporarily lowered to that rate. This play was performed before 1602, by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and by the Children of St. Paul's: in the body of it Tucca speaks degradingly of 'penny-bench theatres,' where 'a gentleman or an honest citizen' might sit 'with his squirrel by his side cracking nuts;' which agrees with a passage in his *Gull's Horn-Book*, 1609, where he remarks, 'your groundling and gallery commoner buys his sport for a penny,' as if the admission to the yard, where people stood, and to the gallery, where they sat, were the same.

The discordances between the authorities on this question (which, though I have cited many, might easily be multiplied) often arise, no doubt, from the different prices charged at different theatres at different periods, as well as from some confusion which now and then prevails as to the part of the house intended to be designated by the writer. Malone* produced a passage from an old collection of

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 73.

tales, called *Wit's Fits and Fancies*, 1595, which may be taken to prove that at that date six-pence was the lowest sum received at the door of a theatre. About forty years afterwards, (in the induction to his *Magnetic Lady*, 1632,) Ben Jonson speaks of 'six-penny mechanics,' who filled 'the oblique caves and wedges' of the Blackfriars; and according to Shirley's *Example*, 1637, such was the sum paid for admission into the pit at the Cockpit in Drury Lane—

'Nay, he that in the parish never was
'Thought fit to be of the jury, has a place
'Here *on the bench for sixpence*, and does sit,
'And boast himself commissioner of wit*.'

From 'the epilogue at Blackfriars' to Mayne's *City Match*, 1639†, and from the prologue to Habington's *Queen of Arragon*‡, 1640, acted at the same theatre, it is unquestionable that 'two-shillings' were paid there, probably for the best places: in the *Scornful Lady*, however, Act iv. Sc. 1, Fletcher makes the elder Loveless speak of 'eighteen-pence,' as if that were the highest price of admission at the Blackfriars; but it is to be recollected that this comedy was performed before 1616, and, in the interval between that date and 1639, the charge might have been augmented. Malone, who produces these authorities§, adds, by way of conjecture, which he does not attempt to support by any evidence, that 'at the Blackfriars theatre 'the price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the

* The phrase 'commissioner of wit' seems borrowed, with a difference, from the preface to the first folio of Shakespeare, 1623. 'Though you be a *magistrate of wit* and sit on the stage at Black-'friars to arraign plays daily.'

† *Dodsley's Old Plays*, last edition, ix. 330. ‡ Ibid. ix. 339.

§ Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 75.

'Globe.' Nevertheless, he goes far to establish that the price of admission to the best rooms, or boxes (for the terms are used indifferently) in the time of Shakespeare was one shilling; and the following sentence from Sir T. Overbury's *Characters*, published in 1614, seems decisive:—'If he have but *twelve-pence* in his purse he will give it for the *best room* in a playhouse.' Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, also thus directs his hero:—'At 'a new play you take up the *twelve-penny room* next the 'stage, because the Lords and you may seem to be hail 'fellow well met *.' The extracts made by Malone from the prologue to *Henry VIII.*, and from verses by W. B. prefixed to Massinger's *Bondman*, only prove that there were shilling places, not that they were the best in the house †.

* The same author also mentions twelve-penny rooms in one of the most curious of his tracts, and in a passage that throws other light on this subject:—

'Oh you generation of Apes without tails, made so only to make 'sport! You players that cry out your comedies, you that feed upon 'the honey of other men's wits, and yet have nothing in your bowels 'but gall I spy by your colours, that you are infected with 'pride, looseness of life, inconstancy, ingratitude, and such like crude 'and undigested humours and rheumatic diseases you shall 'wear gay clothes, carry lofty looks, but a number of you (especially 'the hirelings), but with empty purses, at least twice a-week. But if 'any of you be so provident as to phlebotomise or buy pills to evacuate 'these rotten infectious posthumes, yet ye shall not escape this plague. 'Ye shall be glad to play three hours for two-pence to the basest 'stinkards in London, whose breath is stronger than garlick, and able 'to poison all the twelvepenny rooms.'—Dekker's *Raven's Almanack*, in the division headed 'Winter.'

† Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 75. It is, perhaps, to be gathered from the expression at the close of Davenant's *Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, 1658, that by that date the shilling places were some of the worst, as he takes credit to himself for making 'good provision of places at *a shilling*.' From Sir Aston Cockaine's *Obstinate Lady*, printed in

It was the practice of that day for young men of fashion, who did not object to render themselves conspicuous, to sit upon the stage *, and possibly some of the prevailing confusion on the question of the price of admission may have been produced by writers, who advert to the point, adding to the price the extra sum given for a seat upon the boards. A three-legged stool, which Dekker in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, dignifies by the style of 'a tripos,' seems to have been usually hired on these occasions, and for this sixpence (and subsequently a shilling) was paid. Those who wished to sit upon the stage during the performance entered by the 'tiring-house; and in the agreement between Henslowe, Meade, and an actor of the name of Dawes, in 1614, the money received at the 'tiring-house and the ''tiring-house dues' are mentioned †. According

the preceding year, we might infer that some of the most expensive seats were eighteen-pence—

'If perfum'd wantons do, for *eighteen-pence*,
'Expect an angel, and alone go hence,
'We shall be glad.'

He alludes to the visits of the fine gentlemen of the day to theatres in search of prostitutes, but perhaps those females might not then be admitted to more expensive situations. It seems probable that Sir J. Suckling, in the following lines from one of his epistles (Works, p. 41, edition 1676) alludes to the highest price of admission—

'The sweat of learned Jonson's brain
'And gentle Shakespeare's easier strain,
'A hackney coach conveys you to
'In spite of all that rain can do,
'And for your *eighteen-pence* you sit
'The lord and judge of all fresh wit.'

It is not possible perhaps to fix the date when this epistle was written.

* Voltaire, in his *Diss. sur la Tragédie ancienne et moderne*, says that the same custom prevailed in France, and he complains of *la foule de spectateurs confondue sur la scène avec les acteurs, &c.*

† In time this practice, always inconvenient, became such a nuisance that it was necessary to put a stop to it; and it seems to have been

to Dekker, whose account is very humorous and minute, the money was not paid for the stool until the gallant had possession of it, and was before the audience:—'Present 'yourself not on the stage, especially at a new play, until 'the quaking prologue hath by rubbing got colour into his 'cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpets their cue, that 'he is upon the point to enter; for then it is time, as though 'you were one of the properties, or that you dropped out 'of the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with 'your tripos, or three-footed stool, in one hand, and a '*teston* mounted between a forefinger and a thumb in the 'other: for if you should bestow your person upon the 'vulgar, when the belly of the house is but half full, your 'apparel is quite eaten up, the fashion lost, and the pro-'portion of your body in more danger to be devoured than 'if it were served up in the Counter amongst the poultry. 'Avoid this as you would the baston *.' The same writer has previously enlarged upon the advantages of sitting upon the stage, and said that 'a good stool' might be had for 'six-pence.' From the induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, 1604, we learn that at that date also the hire of a

thought that it could not be done by anything less than royal authority. The following order was therefore issued in February, 1664-5: it is preserved in the State Paper Office—

'Whereas complaint hath been made unto us of great disorders in 'the Attiring-house of the Theatre of our dearest brother the Duke of 'York, under the government of our trusty and well-beloved Sir Wm. 'Davenant, by the resort of persons thither to the hinderance of the 'actors and interruption of the scenes. Our will and pleasure is that 'no person of what quality soever do presume to enter at the door of 'the Attiring-house, but such only as do belong to the Company and 'are employed by them. Requiring the guards attending there and all 'whom it may concern to see that obedience be given hereunto. And 'that the names, &c. Ut supra, dated the 25th February, 1664-5. By, &c.'

* *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, sign. E 3.

stool on the stage was no more *; but in 1611, according to the subsequent lines in Dekker's and Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, printed in that year, it had been raised to a shilling:—

'What feather is't you'd have, sir?
'These are most worn and most in fashion
'Amongst the beaver gallants, the stone riders,
'The private stage's audience, the *twelve*
'*Penny stool* gentlemen.'

Malone conjectured that the shilling stools were more commodious; but it is far more likely that the price had been raised in order to check the practice, which, to use Marston's words, in the induction to his *What you Will*, 1607, 'wronged the general eye very much.' It might be that those gallants, who paid a shilling for their stools, had the privilege of being attended by their pages †. From verses by J. Stephens, to H. Fitzgeoffrey on his *Notes from the Blackfriars*, 1620, it appears that poets with their pages were allowed 'chairs,' and free admission upon the stage; and H. Parrot, in his *Laquei Ridiculosi, Springes for Woodcocks*, 1613, informs us, that gallants exhibited themselves in the same place in the same state.

'When young Rogero goes to see a play,
'His pleasure is you place him *on the stage*,
'The better to demonstrate his array,
'And how he sits *attended by his page*:'

* *Dodsley's Old Plays*, last edition, iv. p. 11.

† Yet some English lines, inserted in the Latin play called *Cornelianum Dolium*, 1638, *Auctore T. R.*, run thus:—

'Dear Doctor, hold me no such fool,
'To pay a pound for every stool:
'I can for *six-pence* have a *Page*
'Get me *a stool upon the stage*,
'Where I may clear my lungs with laughter.'

and he proceeds to state, that the chief occupation of the page was to fill his master's pipe with tobacco. Henry Hutton, in his *Folly's Anatomy*, 1619, (quoted by Malone) also mentions the attendance of the page, for the same purpose.

'The Globe to-morrow acts a pleasant play;
'In hearing it consume the irksome day:
'Go, take a pipe of To *: the *crowded stage*
'Must needs be graced *with you and your page.*
'Swear for a place with each controlling fool,
'And send your hackney servant for a *stool.*'

Another important point, before touched upon, is to be collected from this quotation, not adverted to by Malone, who seems to have thought, (as the majority of the passages from contemporary writers certainly show,) that the practice of part of the audience sitting on the stage was confined to private theatres. The Globe, mentioned by Hutton, was a public theatre, and yet there he says,

——————'the crowded stage
'Must needs be graced with you and your page;'

and, in accordance with this passage, Dekker, in his *Gull's Hornbook*, (in the chapter last quoted, 'How a gallant should behave himself at a Playhouse,') expressly directs 'whether the gatherers of the *public* or *private* playhouse 'stand to receive the afternoon's rent, let our gallant,

* The custom of taking tobacco on the stage is also mentioned in some picturesque lines in *Skialetheia, or a Shadow of Truth*, 1598.

'See you him yonder who sits ore the stage,
'With his tobacco-pipe now at his mouth?
'It is Cornelius, that brave gallant youth,
'Who is new printed to this fangled age.
'He wears a jerkin cudgel'd with gold lace,
'A profound slop, a hat scarce pipkin high,
'For boots a pair of dagcases; his poinard on his thigh,' &c.

'having paid it, presently advance himself up to *the* 'throne of the stage,' adding, 'I mean not the lord's room, 'which is now but the stage's suburbs...but *on the very* 'rushes where the comedy is to dance; yea, and under the 'state of Cambyses himself, must our feathered estrich, 'like a piece of ordnance, be planted, valiantly, because 'impudently, beating down the mews and hisses of the 'opposed rascality.'

We can hardly suppose, that such as thus made themselves offensively conspicuous on the stage would scruple to pay six-pence for the accommodation of a stool: when, therefore, Dekker in the same chapter of the same work, speaks of such gallants as are 'spread upon the rushes,' with which the boards of the stage were at that time usually covered, it is perhaps to be understood, that they had not arrived until all the stools were engaged, and that they were therefore fain to take up with the ground in a horizontal position.

PROPERTIES, APPAREL, AND FURNITURE.

HENSLOWE'S Diary, or Account-book, supplies much of the information we possess regarding the machinery, properties, dresses and furniture of a theatre prior to the year 1600: it is fortunate that Malone printed so liberally from this singular record, because, in passing from hand to hand before it returned to Dulwich College, nearly all the 'Inventories,' which he quoted, have disappeared from the volume.

It will be remarked, in the following enumeration of

properties, dated 10th March, 1598-9, that there are but two items which at all have the appearance of being used as moveable painted scenery: the one is 'the city of Rome,' and the other is the 'cloth of the Sun and Moon:' the first is coupled with two artificial marchpanes to represent bread, and the other with Cupid's bow and quiver; so that had they been articles of any bulk they would probably not have been so mentioned, but would have been separately enumerated. The absence of all notice of anything else that can possibly be supposed to show that moveable painted scenery was employed, is a strong confirmation of the opinion that it was at this date, and long afterwards, unknown at theatres to which the public were indiscriminately admitted. Such explanations as I consider necessary are subjoined between brackets, or in notes:—

'The Enventary tacken of all the properties for my Lord 'Admeralles men, the 10 of Marche, 1598.

'Item j rocke, j cage*, j tombe, j Hell mought†.

'Item j tome [tomb] of Guido, j tome of Dido, j bed-steade.

'Item viij lances, j payer of stayers for Fayeton ‡.

'Item ij stepells, and j chyme of belles, and j beacon.

'Item j hecfor § for the playe of Faeton, the limes dead.

'Item j globe, and j golden scepter, iij clobes [clubs]

'Item ij marchepanes || and the sittie of Rome.

* Perhaps used to imprison Bajazet, in *Tamburlaine*.

† A representation of hell-mouth is one of the oldest properties of the stage, and it was often used in Miracle-plays and Morals. Some striking representations of a 'property' of this kind may be seen in Mr. Sharp's 'Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries,' p. 62, &c.

‡ Perhaps used by Phaeton in mounting to his chariot (also mentioned below) in Dekker's play of *Phaeton*, which was, probably, the original foundation of *The Sun's Darling*, by Dekker and Ford.

§ A *hecfor*, for the play of Phaeton, seems inexplicable. Possibly Malone misread the old writing.

|| In R. Brome's *City Wit*, Act iv. Sc. 2, Mrs. Pyannet tells Toby Sneakup, 'You have your kickshaws—your *players marchpanes*, all

'Item j gowlden flece, ij rackets, j baye tree.
'Item j wooden hatchett, j lether hatchete.
'Item j wooden canepie; owld Mahemetes head.
'Item j lyone skin, j beares skyne, and Faetones lymes [limbs] 'and Faeton charete, and Argosse head.
'Item Nepun [q. Neptune] forcke and garland.
'Item j crosers [crozier's] stafe, Kentes woden leage [leg].
'Item Ierosses [q. Iris's] head and raynbowe, j littell alter.
'Item viij viserdes, Tamberlyne brydell *, j wooden matook.
'Item Cupedes bowe and quiver; the clothe of the Sone and 'Mone.
'Item j bores heade, and Serberosse [Cerberus] iij heades.
'Item j Cadeseus [Caduseus], ij mose [moss] banckes, and j 'snake.
'Item ij fanes [fans] of feathers; Belendon stable, j tree of 'gowlden apelles, Tantelouse tre, jx eyorn [iron] targates.
'Item j copper targate, and xvij foyles.
'Item iiij wooden targates, j greve armer.
'Item j syne for Mother Readcap †, j buckler.
'Item Mercures wings, Tasso picter ‡, j helmet with a dragon, 'j shelde with iij lyones, j elme bowle.
'Item j chayne of dragons, j gylte speare.
'Item ij coffenes, j bulles head, and j vylter.
'Item iij tymbrells, j dragon in Fostes §.
'Item j lyone, ij lyon heades, j great horse with his leages, j 'sackbute.
'Item j whell and frame in the Sege of London ||.

shew, and no meat.' A marchpane was a kind of biscuit, and these 'marchpanes,' mentioned by Henslowe, were used when any of the performers had occasion to keep up the semblance of eating.

* Doubtless the bridle used by the Scythian Shepherd, when in Marlow's *Tamburlaine*, part ii. the hero enters, drawn by the kings of Trebisond and Syria, with bits in their mouths.

† *i.e.*, a sign for Mother Red-cap in the play of that name, by A. Munday and M. Drayton, mentioned by Henslowe, under date of December, 1597.

‡ Perhaps a picture used in Dekker's play of *Tasso's Melancholy*.

§ In the play of *Faustus*, by Marlow.

|| Most likely a *well* and frame in the play of *The Siege of London*.

'Item j paire of rowghte gloves.
'Item j poopes [Pope's] miter.
'Item iij Imperiall crownes; j playne crowne.
'Item j gostes [ghost's] crowne; j crown with a sone [sun].
'Item j frame for the heading in Black Jone.
'Item j black dogge.
'Item j cauderm [cauldron] for the Jew *.'

From this list of properties it is clear, that although moveable scenery was not employed, moveable properties, such as tombs, rocks, hell-mouths, steeples, beacons, and trees were introduced upon the stage †: the dragons were

* For the Jew in Marlow's play of *The Jew of Malta*.

† In *The Antipodes*, 1640, by R. Brome, there is a ludicrous account of the contents of the 'tiring-house, and of theatrical properties. Bye-play is speaking of Peregrine—

'He has got into our tiring-house amongst us,
'And ta'en a strict survey of all our properties,
'Our statues and our images of gods,
'Our planets and our constellations,
'Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears,
'Our helmets, shields and vizors, hairs and beards,
'Our pasteboard marchpanes and our wooden pies....
'Whether he thought 'twas some enchanted castle,
'Or temple hung and pil'd with monuments
'Of uncouth and of various aspects,
'I dive not to his thoughts: wonder he did
'Awhile, it seem'd, but yet undaunted stood;
'When on the sudden, with thrice knightly force,
'And thrice thrice puissant arm, he snatcheth down
'The sword and shield that I played Bevis with,
'Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,
'Kills monster after monster, takes the Puppets
'Prisoners, knocks down the Cyclops, tumbles all
'Our jigambobs and trinkets to the wall.
'Spying at last the crown and royal robes,
'I'th' upper wardrobe, next to which by chaunce
'The devil's vizors hung and their flame painted
'Skin-coats, these he remov'd with greater fury,
'And (having cut the infernal ugly faces
'All into mammocks) with a reverend hand,

some of the 'terrible monsters made of brown-paper,' ridiculed by Stephen Gosson in his *Plays confuted in five Actions*. From Robert Greene's *Alphonsus* (printed in 1599, but acted before 1592), we learn that some contrivance was used, by means of pulleys or otherwise, to allow the gods and goddesses to descend from, and ascend to heaven on the stage: the direction at the commencement of *Alphonsus* runs thus:—'After you have sounded 'thrice, let Venus be let down from the top of the stage, 'and when she is down, say.' The same play concludes with these words:—'*Exit* Venus. Or, if you can con- 'veniently, let a chair come down from the top of the 'stage and draw her up.' By putting it in the alternative, we may see that at some theatres it could not be done 'conveniently.' In a still older play, though not printed until 1599, *The History of Sir Clyomon and Clamydes*, Providence is personified, and descends to and ascends from the stage in a similar manner: the direction before she comes down is merely 'Descend Providence,' and when she returns to heaven, it is 'Ascend.' The *Valiant Welchman*, by R. A., 1615, opens with an induction by Fortune, and when she enters, the stage direction is, 'Fortune descends down from Heaven to the stage.' Nothing is said respecting her re-ascent, and perhaps even at that date it could not be done 'conveniently.'

In the folio MS. of Six Plays, &c., by William Percy, mentioned in a former part of this work, the properties necessary for the exhibition of each are inserted in the commencement. For *The Cuck-queans Errant and*

'He takes the imperial diadem, and crowns
'Himself King of the Antipodes, and believes
'He has justly gained the kingdom by his conquest.'

Cuckolds Errant, it was necessary that the stage should represent, in different acts, Harwich, Colchester, and Maldon, which it was made to do at once for the convenience of the performance, the author relying upon the 'usual indulgence' of his auditory. The places and 'properties' are thus enumerated—

'Harwich: in the middle of the stage Colchester, with 'image of Tarlton, signe and ghirlond: under him also the 'Raungers Lodge. Maldon: a ladder of roapes trussd up 'neare Harwich; highest and aloft the Title, the Cuck-'queanes and Cuckolds Errants. A long fourme.'

These were all that were necessary, and sometimes even such as these might be dispensed with, as appears by the following singular note to 'the Properties' for the representation of another of the pieces, called *A Fairy Pastoral or the Forest Elves*. 'Now if so be, that the properties 'of any of these that be outward will not serve the turne, 'by reason of concurse of the people on the stage, then 'you may omitt the sayd properties, which be outward, 'and supplye their places with their nuncupations onely, 'in text letters.' Such was the simplicity of our old stage, that even if nothing like a place or house could be represented to the eyes of the spectators, the deficiency might be supplied by writing the name of the property on a board. Most of these plays were intended to be performed by the Children of Paul's, and alterations are frequently inserted in case the representation should be made by regular actors.

Most of Henslowe's Inventories were taken on the 10th of March, 1598-9, perhaps in anticipation of the removal of the Lord Admiral's players from the Curtain and Rose to the Fortune theatre, the project for building which

seems, about that date, to have been entertained by Henslowe and Edward Alleyn. The first inventory quoted by Malone appears to be of 'goods gone and lost,' among which 'Long-shank's suit,' 'Harry the Fifth's doublet' and his 'velvet gowne' only require notice. It is succeeded by the following.

'The Enventary of the Clownes Sewtes, and Hermettes 'Sewtes, with dievers other sewtes, as followeth, 1598, the 10 'of March.

'Item j senetores gowne, j hoode, and 5 senetores capes.

'Item j sewtte for Nepton, Fierdrackes [fire-drakes] sewtes 'for Dobe.

'Item iiij genesareyes [Janissaries] gownes, and iiij torch-'berers sewtes.

'Item iij payer of red strasers, and iij fares [q. Pharaoh's 'gowne of buckrome.]

'Item iiij Herwodes [q. Herod's or Herald's] cottes, and iij 'sogers cottes, and j green gown for Maryan.

'Item vj grene cottes for Roben Hoode, and iiij knaves 'sewtes.

'Item ij payer of grene hosse, and Andersones sewte, j whitt 'shepen clocke [cloak].

'Item ij rosset cottes, and j blacke frese cotte, and iij prestes 'cottes.

'Item ij whitt shepherdes cottes, and ij Danes sewtes, and 'j payer of Danes hosse.

'Item the Mores lymes*, and Hercolles lymes, and Will 'Sommers sewtte.

'Item ij Orlates sewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes 'cootes.

'Item Cathemer sewte, j payer of cloth whitte stockens, iiij 'Turckes hedes.

'Item iiij freyers gownes and iiij hoodes to them, and j fooles 'coate cape and babell [bawble] and branhowlttes [Brenoralt's] 'bodeys [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.

* I suspect (says Malone) these were the limbs of Aaron the Moor, in Titus Andronicus, who, in the original play, was probably tortured on the stage. Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 309.

'Item ij blacke saye gownes, and ij cotton gownes, and j rede 'saye gowne.

'Item j mawe gowne of calleco for the quene* and j car-'nowll [cardinal's] hatte.

'Item j rede sewt of cloth for pyge † layed with whitt lace.

'Item v payer of hosse for the clowne, and v gerkenes for 'them.

'Item iij payer of canvas hosse for asane, ij payer of black 'strocers.

'Item j yelow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whittcomes 'dublett poke.

'Item Eves bodeyes [bodice], j pedante trusser, and iij donnes 'hattes.

'Item j payer of yelow cotton sleves, j gostes sewte, and j 'gostes bodeyes.

'Item xviij copes and hattes, Verones sonnes hosse.

'Item iij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a basse 'viall, a bandore, a sytteren [gittern], j anshente [ancient], j 'whitte hatte.

'Item j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobbihorse.

'Item v shertes, and j surpelowes [surplices], iiij ferdingalles '[farthingales].

'Item vj head tiers, j fane, iiij rebatos, ij gyrketruses.

'Item j long sorde.'

This is succeeded by another inventory, of the same date, of apparel for the same company, 'left above in the tire-house, in the chest;' which would show that, at the theatre referred to, the tire-house was up stairs, and not on a level with the stage. The items are these:—

'Item my Lord Caffes [q. Caiphas'] gercken and his hoosse.

* There was a play called *The Maw* among those enumerated by Henslowe; perhaps this was a gown for the queen in that performance.

† Perhaps for 'pyge' we ought to read Page, the hero of the play of *Page of Plymouth*, an entry which Malone could not understand. In the plot of *Frederick and Basilea*, an actor, who is called familiarly *Pig*, played a part, and this might be a dress for him. Malone thought that 'pyge' meant *Psyche*—not a very happy conjecture.

'Item j payer of hosse for the Dowlfen [Dauphin].
'Item j murey lether gyrcken, and j white lether gerckin.
'Item j black leather gearken, and Nabesathe sewte.
'Item j payer of hosse, and a gercken for Valteger.
'Item ij leather anteckes cottes with basses for Fayeton.
'Item j payer of bodeyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.'

On the 13th March, 1598, Henslowe took a farther inventory 'of all the aparell of the Lord Admeralles men,' and by that date he had found 'Longshank's suit,' and 'Harry the Fifth's doublet' and 'velvet gown,' (which, three days before, he had entered as 'gone and lost,') for they are included in the items. It is needless to subjoin the whole list, as many of the entries furnish not the slightest information: the following are the principal items:

'Item j payer of whitte saten Venesons cut with coper lace.
'Item j Mores cotte.
'Item Pyges damask gowne.
'Item j harcoller [hair colour] tafitie sewte of pygges.
'Item j white tafitie sewte of pygges.
'Item Vartemar sewtte.
'Item j payer of French hosse, cloth of gowld.
'Item Tamberlynes cotte with coper lace.
'Item Labesia's clocke with gowld buttenes.
'Item Valteger robe of rich tafitie.
'Item Junoes cotte.
'Item j hode for the wech [witch].
'Item j cloth clocke of russete with coper lace, called Guy-does clocke.
'Item Dobes cotte of cloth of sylver.
'Item Perowes sewt, which Wm. Sley were *.
'Item Tamberlanes breches of crymson vellvet.
'Item j Faeytone sewte.
'Item Roben Hoodes sewtte.
'Item j read Spanes [q. Spanish] dublet styched.
'Item Tasoes robe.

* Worn by William Sly, the actor, as *Pierrot*.

'Item Dides [q. Dido's] robe.
'Item the fryers trusse in Roben Hoode.
'Item j littell gacket for Pygge.
'Item j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
'Item Harye the v velvet gowne.
'Item j Longeshankes seute.
'Item Harye the v satten dublet layd with gowld lace.
'Item j Spanes gearcken layd with sylver lace.
'Item j freyers gowne of graye.'

The value of none of these dresses is stated by Henslowe; but this deficiency is in part supplied by another list of apparel, where he enters the sum paid for each article opposite to it. It is entitled:—

'A Note of all suche goodes as I have bought for the Com-
'paney of my Lord Admirall's men, sence the 3 Aprell 1598.

	£	s.	d.
'Bowght a damaske casock garded with velvett.	0	18	0
'Bowght a payer of paned rownd hosse of cloth 'whiped with sylk, drawne out with tafitie. 'Bowght j payer of long black wollen stockens.	0	8	0
'Bowght j black satten dublett. 'Bowght j payer of rownd howsse paned of velle- 'vet.	4	14	0
'Bowght a robe for to goo invisibell. 'Bowght a gown for Nembia	3	10	0
'Bowght a dublett of whitt satten layd thicke 'with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes 'hosse of cloth of sylver, the panes layd with 'gold lace.	7	0	0
'Bowght of my sonne v sewtes	20	0	0
'Bowght of my sonne iiij sewtes	17	0	0

His 'son' meant Edward Alleyn, who, in April, 1598, nearly a year before the date of the preceding Inventories of March, 1598-9, seems to have had an interest separate from that of his step-father. The 'robe for to go invisible,' is a remarkable item, and Malone's conjecture was, that it was a cloak the wearer of which was supposed to be

invisible to the rest of the performers. These items show decisively the expensive nature of the wardrobe of a theatre even at that early date.

The internal furniture of a theatre, beyond the properties already mentioned, consisted merely of the benches in the boxes, galleries, and pit, (excepting in what were called 'public theatres,' where the pit was termed the yard, in which the spectators stood,) the curtains in front of the stage, and the traverses occasionally drawn and undrawn in the rear of it. Until after the Restoration, these curtains ran upon a rod, and opened in the centre. They were usually composed of arras and worsted; but it appears that, in 1640, they were of silk at the Red Bull theatre, which by no means stood high in public estimation.

The balcony at the back of the stage was also, sometimes, provided with curtains. 'It appears (says Malone *) from 'the stage-directions given in the *Spanish Tragedy*, that 'when a play was exhibited within a play (if I may so 'express myself), as is the case in that piece and in *Ham-*'*let*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was 'performed, sat in the balcony, or upper stage, already 'described; and a curtain or traverse being hung across 'the stage *for the nonce*, the performers entered between 'that curtain and the general audience, and, on its being 'drawn, began their piece, addressing themselves to the 'balcony, and regardless of the spectators in the theatre, 'to whom their backs must have been turned during 'the whole of the performance.' Malone may have been right in this supposition, but unquestionably the authority he cites does not bear him out, as the only stage-direction

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 108.

in this part of the *Spanish Tragedy* (Act iv.) is, 'He (*i. e.* Hieronimo) knocks up the curtain;' but what curtain he knocks up is not stated, nor can we gather it from the context. I have met with no authority to confirm or contradict Malone's opinion on this point.

The stage was furnished with trap-doors. Malone quotes Lupton's *All for Money*, 1578, to establish this fact: Money there 'vomits forth' Pleasure, and the stage-direction is, 'Here with some fine conveyance Pleasure shall appear from beneath;' but it is doubtful whether the author meant that he was to rise from beneath the stage. In Lodge's and Greene's *Looking-Glass for London and England*, 1594, 'the Magi with their rods beat the ground, and from under the same riseth a brave arbour,' which must have come up through a large trap-door: in the same play 'a flame of fire appeareth from beneath, and Radagon is swallowed.' In the opening of Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601) Envy 'arises in the midst of the stage;' and in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1602) Balurdo enters 'from under the stage.' The cauldron in *Macbeth* must have 'sunk' through a trap-door; and, by some contrivance of this sort, in the *Valiant Welshman* (1615), the Fairy Queen 'falls down under the stage;' and Morion follows her, 'and falls into a ditch.'

The stools which were hired and used by some of the auditory, for sitting on the stage, were also part of the furniture of the theatre. The stage was, as before observed, commonly strewed with rushes, but on extraordinary occasions it was matted, as was the case when the Globe was burnt down, on the 29th June, 1613, according to the letter of Sir Henry Wotton.

The external furniture of a playhouse consisted merely

of the sign, which was exposed on some obvious part of the building, and the flag, which was hoisted at the top of it to give distant notice of the performances: 'Each play-'house (says W. Parkes) advanceth his flag in the air, 'whither quickly, at the waving thereof, are summoned 'whole troops of men, women, and children *.' When the performance was concluded, the flag was removed; and Plain-dealing, in Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, 1607, observes, 'She takes down the flag; belike the play is done.' Flags were used for this purpose at an early date, for John Field, in his *Godly Exhortation* on the accident at Paris Garden, 1583, remarks, speaking of the attractiveness of theatres, &c.:—'Those flags of defiance against God, and 'trumpets that are blown to gather together such com-'pany, will sooner prevail to fill those places, than the 'preaching of the holy word of God.'

SCENERY.

The question at what time, and to what extent, scenery, as we now use and understand the term, was employed in our old theatres, was disputed by Malone and Steevens; the first contending that it was unknown, and the last that it was well known. Malone is too strict in his definition of a scene, when he states that it means 'a painting 'in perspective on a cloth, fastened to a wooden frame or 'roller †;' because, whether it were or were not painted 'on a cloth,' and whether it were not upon 'a wooden

* Curtain-Drawer of the World, 1612, p. 47.
† Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 86.

frame or roller,' could be of no consequence, provided it was a painting in perspective, and moveable with the change of place represented in the play.

I decidedly concur with Malone in the general conclusion, that painted moveable scenery was unknown on our early stage; and it is a fortunate circumstance for the poetry of our old plays that it was so: the imagination of the auditor only was appealed to, and we owe to the absence of painted canvas many of the finest descriptive passages in Shakespeare, his contemporaries, and immediate followers. The introduction of scenery gives the date to the commencement of the decline of our dramatic poetry.

The very existence of such passages (and I need not pause to establish how numerous they are) is almost sufficient to show, without the aid of direct evidence, that our old dramatists were not impeded by uncouth representations; and they luxuriated in passages descriptive of natural or artificial scenery, because they knew that their auditors would have nothing before their eyes to contradict the poetry: the hangings of the stage made little pretension to be anything but coverings for the walls, and the notion of the place represented was taken from what was said by the poet, not from what was attempted by the painter.

In another important respect it is fortunate that no such thing as moveable scenery existed. It is the great feature of our romantic drama, that it disregards the unities of time and place; it sets at nought both the probable and the possible, and if our old poets had been obliged to confine themselves merely to the changes that could at that early date have been exhibited, by the removal of painted canvas or boarding, we should have lost much of

that boundless diversity of situation and character allowed by this happy absence of restraint. Malone and Steevens, however, do not at all rest upon, nor even advert to, any general reasoning upon the point, but argue upon particular and sometimes ambiguous expressions. Fleckno, in his *Short Discourse of the Stage*, 1664, by which date moveable scenery had been introduced, seems to have anticipated this contested point, when he says, I think decisively :—' Now for the difference betwixt *our* theatres, ' and those of *former times;* they were but plain and ' simple, with *no other scenes* nor decorations of the stages, ' but only old tapestry, and the stage strewed with rushes*.' In one of our oldest extant historical plays, *Selimus Emperor of the Turks*, published in 1594, there is a remarkable stage-direction, which also seems to me at once to establish the point at issue: the hero is conveying the dead body of his father in a solemn funeral procession to the temple of Mahomet, and with great simplicity the audience is told, '*Suppose the Temple of Mahomet*'—an injunction quite needless if there had existed the means of representing it to the eyes of the spectators. It is to be observed also, that this piece was performed by the Queen's players, who would certainly have had those means, had they been possessed by any other company. In the fifth scene of Act i. of the old play of *Cæsar and Pompey*,

* Fleckno spoke of his own knowledge, and probably the same may be said of J. Corey, who has the following lines in the prologue to his *Generous Enemies*, 1672 :—

' Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
' And sat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit:
' Coarse hangings then, *instead of scenes*, were worn,
' And Kiddermiuster did the stage adorn.'

1607, the stage is supposed a ship, and the actors on board of it.

The simplicity of the old stage in this respect, may also be clearly shown by a reference to R. Greene's *Pinner of Wakefield*, printed in 1599, where Jenkin is struck by the shoe-maker in the street: Jenkin challenges him to come to the town's-end to fight it out; and, after some farther parley, the professor of 'the gentle craft' reminds Jenkin of his challenge:—

'Come, sir; will you come to the town's-end now?
'*Jenkin.* Aye, Sir: Come.'

and in the very next line he adds,

'Now we are at the town's-end. What say you now?'

so that two or three steps on the stage were supposed to convey them to the end of the town, and the audience was duly informed that they had arrived there. This and the preceding proofs are not noticed by Malone, but he aptly quotes the following stage-direction from the old copies of *Romeo and Juliet*:—'They march about the stage, and 'serving men come forth with their napkins,' upon which he remarks *:—'Romeo, Mercutio, &c., with their torch-'bearers and attendants, are the persons who march about 'the stage. They are in the street on their way to Capu-'let's house, where a masquerade is given; but Capulet's 'servants, who come forth with their napkins, are supposed 'to be in a hall or saloon of their master's house: yet both 'the masquers *without*, and the servants *within*, appear 'on the same spot.' Ben Jonson, in the address 'to the Reader,' before his *New Inn*, 1629, expressly mentions the tapestry spoken of by Fleckno, under the words 'Arras

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 90.

cloths,' and he tells us farther that they represented 'faces in the hangings.' To the same effect it would be easy to accumulate authorities *.

While I concur with Malone, that moveable scenery was unknown in our old theatres, I admit with Steevens, that contrivances were adopted to represent the walls of a town, or perhaps a tower. In the folio Shakespeare of 1623, which was printed from acting copies, we often meet with stage-directions warranting such a conclusion: as in King John, 'Enter a Citizen upon the walls'—'Enter Arthur on the walls;' and in Henry VI. pt. I., 'Enter Pucelle on the top of a tower'—'Enter Lord Scales upon the tower, walking.' Nevertheless, it is impossible to decide, even here, how far the balcony at the back of the stage might not be put in requisition, both for wall and tower. Perhaps it sometimes answered the purpose of a window to an upper chamber; and when in *Englishmen for my Money* (written in 1598, though not published until 1616), three merry damsels mock an old lover, by pretending to draw him up in a basket to their bed-room, and leave him suspended in the air, it seems very probable that the balcony was employed. Such, however, could not be the case in Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, played in 1616, for there it was necessary to represent two houses, each with a window. In Act ii., Sc. 2, Wittipol courts Mrs. Fitzdottrell, and in the margin of the old copy we are informed, 'this scene is acted at two windows, as out of two contiguous buildings.'

* When the tapestry decayed, its defects seem to have been supplied by paint; or, perhaps, pictures were hung over it to conceal its defects. In the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, Ben Jonson makes one of the children of the Chapel say, 'I am none of your fresh pictures that use to beautify the decayed old arras.'

In the performances at Court, at a very early date, we meet with accounts which prove that painted scenes, though perhaps not moveable, were employed, and they are noticed with great particularity in the privy seal, for the payment of the expenses of the Revels in 1568. Strato's House, Dobbin's House, and Orestes' House, are mentioned as having been provided and painted, together with a view of Rome, of Scotland (in what manner a whole country was represented is not stated), and the Palace of Prosperity. At a later date, we meet with entries of a similar kind, in the accounts of the Revels: in 1571-2, William Lyzard was paid for 'paynting the houses that served for the playes and players;' and John Izarde, for a 'device for counterfeiting thunder and lightning.' In the next year, Lady Peace was lodged in 'a castle,' and Apollo and the Muses were represented on a mount with a fountain, while the liberation of Andromeda was exhibited in 'a picture.' In 1573-4, a charge is made for pins used in hanging 'painted cloths;' and in the year following, a contrivance was adopted for exhibiting the sun breaking from a cloud, besides 'houses for the players.' In 1576, we meet with an item which nearly approaches Malone's definition of a scene, 'a painted cloth and two frames,' if the frames were used for stretching the canvas. In 1578, a burning mountain was introduced; and in 1580, William Lyzarde was paid for painting 'seven cities, one 'country-house, one battlement, a mount, and two great 'cloths.' Cities and battlements were also employed for the plays in 1582; and in the Revels' accounts of 1584, 'great cloths,' and 'battlements of canvas,' 'a well and a mount,' are mentioned.

It nowhere appears, however, that these painted cloths,

representing cities, battlements, &c., were moveable during the performance; and I am inclined to think that Malone was right, when he said that 'the first notice of anything 'like moveable scenes being used in England, is in the 'narrative of the entertainment given to King James at 'Oxford, in August, 1605, when three plays were per-'formed in the Hall of Christ Church *.'

The earliest authority yet pointed out for adapting the term 'scene' to the painted representations at the back of the performers, is Dr. Barten Haliday, in his comedy called *Technogamia*, the first edition of which was printed in 1610: in a marginal note to the prologue we read as follows:—'Here the upper part of the *scene* 'opened, when straight appeared an Heaven and all the 'pure arts sitting on two semicircular benches, one above 'another: who sate thus till the rest of the prologue was 'spoken, which being ended, they descended in order 'within the *scene*, while the music played.' Lord Bacon, in his Essay 'Of Masques and Triumphs,' speaks distinctly of 'alterations of scenes:'—'It is true, (he observes,) 'the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly, and without 'noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure, for they 'feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same 'object;' and he adds, 'let the scenes abound with light, 'specially coloured and varied.' Here he employs the word as we now use it; but it is to be remarked that this essay was not inserted in the volume until after the edition of 1612.

At this period, and considerably afterwards, Inigo Jones was engaged by the Court and Universities in getting up exhibitions of the sort, and his skill and invention are

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 81.

highly extolled by many of his contemporaries. In 1636, during the performance at court of Heywood's *Love's Mistress*, (as we are informed by the poet, who willingly acknowledges his obligation,) Inigo Jones 'changed the stage' to 'every act, and almost to every scene.'

Cartwright's *Royal Slave* was presented before the King and Queen at Oxford, in August, 1636, and the changes of the scenes then produced by Inigo Jones were called 'appearances:' they were eight in number, one to each act, and three of them were repeated in the three last scenes of the play, so that the shiftings must have been more rapid than usual. Whether they were effected by sliding frames covered with canvas, or by falling curtains, now technically called 'drops,' is not stated; but in the last, the artist contrived to eclipse the sun, and to dash out the fire of an altar by a deluge of rain.

Besides the curtain in front of the stage, which concealed it from the spectators until it was drawn on each side upon a rod, there were other curtains at the back of the stage, called traverses, which served, when drawn, to make another and an inner apartment, when such was required by the business of the play. They had this name at a very early date: one of the stage directions in the rare interlude of *Queen Hester*, 1561, is this: 'Here the Kynge entryth the travers and Aman goeth out;' and another, 'Here the 'kynge entreth the traverse, and Hardy-dardy entreth the 'place.' In the old MS. play of *Sir Thomas More*, written prior to 1590, we find the following stage direction referring to the use of the traverse—'An arras is drawne, 'and behinde it (as in Sessions) sit the Lord Maior, 'Justice Suresbie, and other Justices, Sherife More, and 'the other Sherife sitting by.' Similar directions in Shake-

speare's plays, and in those of other dramatists, are frequent.

One of the earliest notices of the use of anything beyond arras or tapestry on the public stage is to be found in the prologue to R. Brome's *Court Beggar*, acted in 1632, where the poet is speaking in his own person—

——————' no *gaudy scene*
' Shall give instructions what the plot doth mean;'

but even here it is doubtful whether the writer refers to the gaudiness of a painted scene which might ' give instructions' as to the place where the action was laid. The same dramatist's *City Wit* was written before 1637, (because he tells us in the prologue that it had been approved by Ben Jonson,) and there the old simplicity was observed: the Widow Tryman is discovered apparently at the point of death, making her will, and at the end of the scene we meet with the following direction:—' they put in the bed and withdraw all.' In Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, 1630, ' a bed is thrust out upon the stage, Alwit's wife in it,' the lady having been just delivered of a child; and in Davenport's *New Trick to cheat the Devil*, we read ' enter Anne in bed,' meaning, that a bed was ' thrust out upon the stage' between the traverse curtains, with the lady in it. It is clear, therefore, that at this date they had no means by moveable scenes of changing the appearance of the place represented.

Tuke's *Adventures of five Hours* was not produced until after the Restoration: it was acted at the Duke of York's theatre, and here we find indubitable evidence of changes of scenery and of some facility in the management of it. In one place we are told, ' the scene changes to a garden,' and, just afterwards, ' the rising moon appears in the

scene.' 'The scene changes' is the constant expression employed, and the commencement of Act v. must have been played while the stage represented two separate rooms.

This improvement (if such it were) had been introduced previous to the return of Charles II. in Sir W. Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, consisting of songs and recitative, explained by painted scenery. It was brought out in 1656, about eight years after the closing of the theatres, and with a view to evade the ordinance of 1647. This point may be fitly concluded from the unequivocal language of Wright, the author of *Historia Histrionica*, who, though he wrote only in 1699, was well acquainted with the state of the stage more than half a century before: he tells us, that 'presently after the Restoration, the King's players 'acted publicly at the Red Bull for some time, and then 'removed to a new-built playhouse in Vere-street, by 'Clare-market: there they continued for a year or two, 'and then removed to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, 'where they first made use of scenes, which had been a 'little before introduced upon the public stage by Sir 'William Davenant.'

In order to indicate the place where the action of a play was laid, a very simple expedient was resorted to in the earlier period of our drama: a board was hung up in an obvious situation, with the name of the place written upon it—'What child is there,' (asks Sir P. Sidney, in his *Apology of Poetry*, written about 1583,) 'that coming to 'a play and seeing Thebes written in great letters on an 'old door, doth believe that it is Thebes?' Malone, who misquotes this passage, by omitting the material words, 'in great letters,' follows it up by observing, that 'the

'want of scenery seems to have been supplied by the 'simple expedient of writing the names of the different 'places where the scene was laid in the progress of the 'play, which were disposed in such a manner as to be 'visible to the audience,' but he produces no evidence upon this point. The practice of exposing to the eyes of the audience in the opening of a play where the action was laid, continued down to the time of Davenant, and it is remarkably proved by the very first piece in which scenery was employed: the introduction to his *Siege of Rhodes* has these words describing the appearance of the stage—'In 'the middle of the freeze was a compartment wherein 'was written—*Rhodes.*' Sometimes the fact appears to have been communicated in the prologue, and at others it was formally announced by one of the actors: when old Hieronimo, in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, is about to present his play within a play to the King and Court, he exclaims—

'Our scene is Rhodes.'

It was not only the custom to exhibit to the eyes of the audience the place of action, but the title of the play: one of the oldest instances of the kind is to be found in the piece last quoted, which was written about 1588. In the same part of it in which old Hieronimo states 'Our scene is Rhodes,' he tells Bathazar, who was assisting in preparations for his play, 'Hang up the title!' which Malone misprints 'Hang up the *tilt*,' and proceeds to reason from his own error, as to the method in which plays within plays were then represented: he took *tilt* to be another name for a curtain *. In *Wily Beguiled*, printed in 1606, but written and acted considerably earlier, the Prologue-

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 108.

speaker asks an actor what the play is to be, and the answer is, 'Sir, you may look upon the title.' Other proofs are to be found in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *Magnetic Lady*, and *Cynthia's Revels*. Sometimes the speaker of the Prologue carried the title of the play in his hand: thus in R. Brome's *City Wit*, Sarpego, who delivers the prologue, in reference to the play having been written before the death of Jonson, observes,

'Some in this round may have both seen't and heard,
'Ere I, *that bear its title*, wore a beard.'

In the same author's *Antipodes*, a play within a play is performed, and Quailpipe, who is entrusted with the prologue, says, alluding to the title hung up in the sight of the audience,

'Our far fetch'd title, over lands and seas,
'Offers unto your view *The Antipodes*.'

HOUR AND DURATION OF PERFORMANCE:—JIGS.

In the time of Shakespeare, plays were performed in London only once a day: Taylor (the water-poet), in his *Watermen's Suit concerning Players*, 1613, says:—'but 'my love unto them is such, that whereas they do play *but* 'once a day, I could be content they should play twice or 'thrice a day.'

Malone asserts that the performances at theatres 'began at one o'clock in the afternoon;' but he was certainly mistaken, and the only authority he adduced by no means established his position*. The usual time for visiting the

* Epigrams by J. D. and C. M., printed about 1598.

theatre was after dinner, but Davenant states, in the prologue to his *Unfortunate Lovers*, produced in 1638, that of old so eager were the spectators to secure good places, that they sometimes came without their dinners:

'For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
'*Ere they had dined*, to take up the best room.'

The usual hour of dining, in the city at least, at this period, was twelve o'clock. In Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*, Pisaro, the Portugal merchant, goes to the Exchange at about eleven, and comes home to dinner at noon. There might then, as now, sometimes be an affectation of late dining, and Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, represents his gay hero as dining at two o'clock, and afterwards visiting the theatre. In fact the performance of plays began at three o'clock*, as appears by the following proclamation made by an actor, in *Histriomastix*, 1610, played very shortly after, if not before the death of Elizabeth.

'All they that can sing and say,
'Come to the Town-house, and see a play:
'*At three a' clock it shall begin.*'

* Excepting at St. Paul's, where the performances commenced at four o'clock, after prayers, and concluded before six, when the gates were shut. This fact appears from a note appended to a play called *Necromantes*, by W. P., in the curious folio MS., the property of Mr. Haslewood, from which I have already more than once quoted.

'A note to the Master of Children of Powles.

'Memorandum, that if any of the fine and formost of these Pas-
'toralls and Comœdyes conteyned in this volume, shall but overeach
'in length (the children not to begin before foure, after prayers, and
'the gates of Powles shutting at six) the tyme of supper, that then in
'tyme and place convenient, you do let passe some of the songs, and
'make the consort the shorter; for I suppose these plaies be some-
'what too long for that place. Howsoever, on your own experience,
'and at your best direction, be it. Farewell to you all.'

In the articles between Henslowe and Meade, and Dawes the player, in 1614, it is expressly stipulated that he shall be ready 'apparelled to begin the play at the hour of *three o'clock* in the afternoon,' which, without farther evidence, seems quite decisive *.

In the prologue to Davenant's *Unfortunate Lovers*, it is stated in terms, that 'two short hours' would complete the whole representation, which accords entirely with what is said by Shakespeare, at an earlier date, in the prologue to *Romeo and Juliet*, where he speaks of the '*two hours* traffic of our stage;' and in the prologue to *Henry VIII.*, where he states that the spectators may

——————— 'see away their shilling
'In *two short hours*.'

'No writer that I have met with (says Malone) intimates that in the time of Shakespeare it was customary 'to exhibit more than a single dramatic piece on one day:' he obviously here means to exclude from consideration what were termed 'jigs,' although they might fairly be called 'dramatic pieces;' and there is good reason to think that he was correct in his conclusion. I find, however, one dramatist, who mentions the performance of what would seem to be two distinct 'dramatic pieces.' In Nathaniel Field's *Amends for Ladies*, acted before 1611, Lord Proudly asks Lord Feesimple, 'What d'ye this afternoon?' and Lord Feesimple answers; 'Faith, I have a great mind to see *Long Meg* and *The Ship*, at the Fortune.' Malone was probably not aware of the existence of

* Thomas Cranley, in his *Amanda*, 1635, describing the manner in which prostitutes occupied their time, day after day, says,

'At *three* unto the playhouse back again,
'To be acquainted with some other men.'

this passage, which certainly speaks of two different productions. It is known from Henslowe's Account-book, that *Long Meg of Westminster* was one of the plays acted by his company in 1594: it long maintained its popularity, but possibly at the time Field wrote it was found necessary to add something to it by way of additional attraction. We nowhere find any mention of a play called *The Ship*, and it might be only 'a jig,' such as it was not unusual to append to plays, 'the more cheerfully to dismiss the spectators *.'

That a 'jig' was a common conclusion to the amusements at the theatre may be easily established. In *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1601, one of the characters remarks: 'As the jig is called for after the play is done, even so let Monsieur go;' whence we may infer, perhaps, that it was not advertised in the bills, nor performed unless it were 'called for' by the audience. In *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted in 1599), Ben Jonson says, 'it's a 'project, a designment of his own, a thing studied and 'rehears'd as ordinarily at his coming from hawking or 'hunting, as a jig after a play.' These supplemental performances probably originated with, and certainly depended almost solely upon, the actors who used to perform the parts of clowns and fools in regular dramatic representations. Richard Tarleton acquired great celebrity in them, and, from a sentence in the tract called *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, it should seem that they lasted for an hour: the author says that the pamphlet is 'only such

* This is the expression of Dr. Barten Haliday, in the Illustrations to his translation of Juvenal, p. 55. Speaking of the Roman plays, he says that they had an *Exodium*, 'after the nature of a jig, after a play, the more cheerfully to dismiss the spectators.'

'a jest as his [Tarleton's] jig, fit for gentlemen to laugh at 'an hour.' The author of *Laquei Ridiculosi, or Springes for Woodcocks*, 1613, couples the excellent comedy of *Greene's Tu Quoque*, with a celebrated jig called *Garlick**.

It is not easy to ascertain what was the precise nature of a 'jig,' and how far and in what respect it differed from a 'merriment.' We have no extant specimen of any such performance, although, probably, several of the most popular were printed†. It seems to have been a ludicrous composition in rhyme, sung, or said, by the clown, and accompanied by dancing and playing upon the pipe and tabor.

Nash, in his Pierce Penniless, 1592, refers to this species of entertainment in jingling verse, when he says—

——'like the quaint comedians of our time,
'That, *when the play is done*, do fall to *rhyme*.'

Fletcher bears similar testimony in the prologue to the *Fair Maid of the Inn* (licensed in 1626)—

'A *jig* shall be clapp'd up, and every *rhyme*
'Prais'd and applauded by a clamorous chime‡.'

That there was singing in them is proved by Henry Chettle, in *Kind-heart's Dream*, 1592, where he makes coney-catchers complain that the players 'spoiled their trade' by 'singing jigs' in which they were exposed.

* It is also mentioned in *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*, 1614, and as follows by Taylor, in his *Cast over the Water*:—

'And for his action, he eclipseth quite
'The *Jig of Garlick*, or the Punk's delight.'

† In 1595, the Stationer's Registers exhibit entries of two: viz., Phillips's 'Jig of the Slippers' and Kempe's 'Jig of the Kitchen-stuff Woman.'

‡ Malone, in a note on *Hamlet*, (Shakespeare by Boswell, vii. 348) misquotes these lines as from *Love's Pilgrimage*.

Gosson, in his *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, talks of vaulting, tumbling, *dancing of jigs*, galliards, &c., because dancing was introduced into them for greater delight and variety. The old pictures of Tarleton represented him with his tabor; and in his *News from Purgatory* occurs the following passage:—'At last, because they knew I was a 'boon companion, they appointed that I should sit and '*play jigs* all day on my tabor to the ghosts without 'ceasing, which hath brought me into such use, that I 'now play far better than when I was alive.'

When Shirley wrote his *Changes*, (printed in 1632,) jigs at the ends of plays had been exploded at Salisbury Court theatre, and perhaps at other private playhouses; but he complains that, instead of a jig, the audiences were seldom satisfied without a dance in the middle of the piece.

Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess* was not printed until 1656, but it had been acted many years before at the same house as Shirley's *Changes*, and at that date, as appears by the induction, jigs were still represented at the two public theatres—the Fortune and the Red Bull. Some jigs must have been of considerable length, for in *A Pill to Purge Melancholy* (a tract without date, but published about 1600), 'six-penny jigs' are mentioned, which at that time, and long afterwards, was the price of a printed play. 'Half-penny jigs' are also spoken of, which perhaps were merely ballads, like that in '*A Quest of Enquiry*, &c., gathered by Sir Oliver Oatmeal,' 1595, where one is called, 'A Jig for the ballad-mongers *.'

* See the British Bibliographer, i. 36. It will be seen hereafter, that another 'Quest of Enquiry (Jack of Dover's) is noticed by Fitzgeoffrey in 1620.

PLAY-BILLS — REHEARSALS — FIRST PERFORMANCES—PRINTING PLAYS—PAMPHLETS — DEDICATIONS.

In the earliest period of the stage, before the invention of printing, the announcement of the intention to exhibit theatrical performances was made by sound of trumpet, by certain persons called Vexillators, on some day preceding the performance. The use of bills, giving information of the time, place, and nature of the representation of plays is, however, of considerable antiquity.

The practice was common prior to the year 1563, for Strype, in his Life of Grindall*, stating the objections of the Archbishop to dramatic amusements, mentions that he represented to the Queen's Secretary, that the players 'did 'then daily, but especially on the holidays, set up their 'bills, inviting to plays.' At a subsequent date, John Northbrooke, in his *Treatise* against theatrical performances, printed about 1579, supplies similar evidence. He says,—'They use to set up their bills upon posts some 'certain days before, to admonish people to make resort 'to their theatres;' and eight years afterwards the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company gave to John Charlewood a licence for the sole printing of bills for players†. At a later period, the right was assumed and exercised by the crown. It appears that James Roberts had also

* Edition 1821, p. 122.

† The entry in their books runs thus:—'October, 1587, John 'Charlewood. Lycensed to him by the whole consent of the Assistants 'the onlye ymprinting of all manner of billes for players. Provided 'that if any trouble arise herebye, then Charlewood to beare the 'charges.' The trouble to arise out of this exclusive privilege probably meant a dispute on the part of other printers and stationers of the power to grant it.

printed 'the bills for players,' and he mentions them among the publications from his press *. Roberts began to print as early as 1573, and continued until after the year 1600. He might, very possibly, succeed Charlewood, as the person licensed by the Stationers' Company.

Malone, in reference to this circumstance, expresses his surprise that 'even the right of printing play-bills was at 'one time made a subject of monopoly by the Stationer's 'Company †,' but he was not aware that James I. actually granted a patent for the purpose.

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is preserved a broadside, dated 1620, and entitled, 'An abstract of his 'Majestie's Letters Patents granted unto Roger Wood and 'Thomas Symcocke, for the sole printing of paper and 'parchment on the one side;' and among the articles enumerated are 'all Billes for Playes, Pastimes, Showes, Challenges, Prizes or Sportes whatsoever;' and at the close, people wishing for any such work to be done are called upon to repair 'to the Old Change, at the Golden Anchor, over 'against Carter Lane end, where they shall be reasonably 'dealt with for the same.' Wood and Symcocke assigned their right under this patent to Edward Allde, and the broadside was published by him in that capacity ‡.

Malone states that the earlier play-bills 'did not contain 'a list of the characters, or of the names of the actors by 'whom they were represented;' and although we are with-

* Vide Ames's *History of Printing*, p. 342. The MS. which Ames copied was furnished to him by Coxeter, and in it Roberts also states that he had either printed or bought the copyright of these 'play-books,' viz., 'The Weather—Foure P.—Love—Youth—Impatient Poverty—Hicke Skorner.'

† Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 154.

‡ 'At London. Printed by Edward All-de, the Assigne of Roger Wood and Thomas Symcocke, 1620.'

out affirmative evidence on the point, he was, probably, right in his conclusion *. It may be inferred from a portion of the dialogue in *Histriomastix*, 1610, that the

* He was decidedly wrong, however, when he adds in a note (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 154), that the practice of inserting the names of the characters and of the players 'did not commence till the beginning of the eighteenth century,' as is proved by the following play-bill, which is extant, and which, I believe, was sold among the books of the late Mr. Bindley: it was subsequently separately reprinted.

'By his Majesty's Company of Comedians,
'At the new Theatre in Drury-lane.
'This day being Thursday, April 8th, 1663, will be acted,
'A Comedy, called,
'THE HUMOUROUS LIEUTENANT.

'The King . .	Mr. Wintersel,
'Demetrius . .	Mr. Hart,
'Selevers [Seleucus] .	Mr. Burt,
'Leontius . .	Major Mohun,
'Lieutenant . .	Mr. Clun,
'Celiæ [Celia] .	Mrs. Marshall.

'The play will begin at three o'clock exactly.
'Boxes 4*s.*; Pit 2*s.* 6*d.*; Middle Gallery 1*s.* 6*d.*; Upper Gallery 1*s.*'

The names of these performers are well known, and most of them continued to entertain the town some time after the Restoration. Clun is, however, an exception, as he was murdered in 1664, and a poem, upon his death, was published under the following title: 'An Elegy 'upon the most execrable Murther of Mr. Clun, one of the Comedians 'of the Theator Royal, who was rob'd and most inhumanely kill'd on 'Tuesday night, being the 2d of August, 1664, near Tatnam Court, as 'he was riding to his country-house at Kentish Town.' His performances of the Lieutenant, in the play to which the above bill applies, of Smug, in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, of Bessus, in *King and No King*, of Falstaff, in *Henry the Fourth*, and of Iago, in *The Moor of Venice*, are mentioned among his principal characters. In other respects, the production is utterly worthless, as may be judged from the following conclusion.

'But oh, black Death, something I'll say of thee,
'For thou didst act among this treachery,
'And thy hand did seal [q. deal] out poor Clun's death,
'Who oft us pleased with (that you took) his breath.
'Oh, thou unkind and mortal foe to man,
'Who still art blind, yet checks all thou can,'

name of the author was sometimes, if not usually, printed in the play-bill, together with the title of his production *. In the same play we read the following stage-direction: 'Enter Belch,' (one of the players,) 'setting up bills,' which may show also the kind of employment to which the inferior actors, when in the country, condescended. They are afterwards called 'text-bills for plays.' In the induction to *A Warning for fair Women*, 1599, Tragedy whips History and Comedy from the stage, exclaiming—

'Tis you have kept the theatre so long
'Painted in *play-bills* upon every post,
'While I am scorned of the multitude.'

A similar proof is to be found in Taylor's (the Water-poet) *Wit and Mirth*, to which Malone referred †. That

* Some of the characters are there reading the prologue to a piece supposed to have been written by Post-haste, the poet, which thus terminates—'Our Prologue peaceth;' on which Gulch exclaims—

'Peaceth! what peaking Pageanter penn'd that?

'*Belch.* Who but master Post-haste.

'*Gulch.* It is as dangerous to read his name at a play-door, as a printed bill on a plague door.'

† And which he slightly misquoted. It is called 'A Quiblet,' and runs as follows:—'Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet-street a great 'pace, a gentleman called him, and asked him what play was played 'that day? He (being angry to be stayed upon so frivolous a demand) 'answered, that he might see what play was to be played upon every '*post*. I cry you mercy (said the gentleman), I took you for a *post*, 'you rode so fast.'

It may be remarked that this was stolen, like many more, by the collector of *Hugh Peter's Jests*, where it is numbered 14. The same pun forms the point (if point it may be called) of an epigram in H. Fitzgeoffrey's *Certaine Elegies*, &c., 1620—

'Pontus comes posting almost every day,
'And cries, How do you, Sir? Come, what's the play?
'Who doubts but much his labour he hath lost:
'I ne'er could tell no more than could the post.'

It again occurs in *Westminster Quibbles*, and there it is attributed to a player of the name of Wallop.

it was usual with the title of the piece to state whether was comedy, tragedy, &c., we gather from the prologue Shirley's *Cardinal*, when he apologises for only calling 'a play' in the bills:—

'Think what you please, we call it but "a play:"
'Whether the comic muse, or lady's love,
'Romance, or direful tragedy it prove,
'The *bill* determines not:'

and from what immediately follows, it may be thought th the names of tragedies, for greater distinction, were ordin rily printed in red ink:—

———' and you would be
'Persuaded I would have 't a comedy,
'For all the *purple in the name**.'

The term 'rehearsal' was as well understood, and technically applied before 1600 as at present†. In t articles between Henslowe, Meade and Dawes, the acto in April, 1614, it is provided that he 'shall and will at

* In *The Adventures of Five Hours*, 1663, we have the precise for in which bills of new plays commenced, for 'the Prologue enters wi a playbill in his hand,' and reads thus:—'This day, the 15th December, shall be acted a new play, never played before, called T *Adventures of Five Hours*.'

† In Munday and Chettle's *Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingto* acted in 1597, Skelton, who was supposed to play the part of Fri Tuck in it, observes to Sir John Eltham, who personated Little Joh

——— 'Then 'twill trouble you
'After your great affairs to take the pain,
'That I intended to entreat you to,
'About *rehearsal* of your promis'd play.'

The word occurs, and in the same sense, in R. Brome's *A glish Moor*, printed in 1658, and in various other authorities. as was often the case, authors were present at the first performance their plays, we may conclude that they were not absent from r hearsals. Gifford (*Ben Jonson's Works*, vi. 5) states that Ben Jo son 'always attended the first presentation of his pieces, when it w in his power.'

'times during the said term duly attend all such *rehearsal* 'which shall, the night before the rehearsal, be given 'publicly out.'

Malone proves, from the lines addressed by J. Stephens to H. Fitzgeoffrey, on his *Notes from the Blackfriars*, 1620 *, that dramatic poets were admitted gratis into the theatres, and we are to recollect that not a few of them were also actors †.

After plays had been bought by a Manager or Company for representation, authors generally abandoned all care of them. It was Gifford's opinion that Ben Jonson superintended the printing of the volume of his 'Works ‡,' which appeared in 1616, but few dramatic poets of that day showed as much anxiety for their reputation. The pur-

* Malone gives 1617, as the date of this publication. It was printed in 1620; but there is another edition without date, and in his copy in the Bodleian, Malone has written that the title-page of it is the only novelty:—this is also a mistake, for there are several variations in the body of the work, which show at least some part of it to have been a re-impression. The copy with the date of 1620 was 'printed for Thomas Jones,' and that without a date 'by B. A. for Miles Partriche.'

† In Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, two charges are brought against Ben Jonson, which, though no doubt exaggerated, probably had some foundation in truth, or they would have been pointless: the one is that he sat 'in the gallery' during the performance of his plays, distorting his countenance at every line, 'to make gentlemen have an eye on him, and to make players afraid to take his part,' *i.e.*, afraid to act the part assigned to them. The other charge is in these terms—'Besides 'you must forswear to venture on the stage when your play is ended, 'and to exchange courtesies and compliments with the gallants in the 'Lords' rooms, to make all the house rise up in arms and to cry '—that's Horace! that's he! that's he! that's he, that pens and 'purges humours and diseases.' This passage affords a curious trait of the manners of the times.

‡ Ben Jonson was laughed at a good deal for giving such productions as plays the title of 'works.' Fitzgeoffrey made a feeble blow at him in Lib. i. Sat. 1, of his *Certaine Elegies*, &c. 1620, before quoted:

chase for the use of the theatre seems ordinarily to hav
been of the copyright, as well as of the right to perform
and the interests of managers might be injured by prin
ing plays, not merely because public curiosity woul
thereby, to a certain extent, be gratified, but because riv
companies would thus be enabled to represent their piece
Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 159, &c.) recovere
and published two curious documents upon this point fro
the Lord Chamberlain's office, though not of a very earl
date, which are inserted at length in the 'Annals of th
Stage,' ii. 83 and 92.

the passage is curious, and worth extracting, on account of the ma
publications of that day to which it refers.

'How many *Volumes* lye neglected, thrust
'In every Bench-hole? every heape of dust?
'Which from some *Gowries* practise, *Powder* plot,
'Or *Tiburne Lectures*, all their substance got:
'Yet tosse our time-stalles, you'll admire the rout
'Of carelesse fearelesse *Pamphlets* flye about.
'Bookes made of Ballades, *Workes of Playes*,
'Sightes to be read of my Lo. Maiors day's;
'Post's lately set forth, bearing (their backe at)
'Letters of all sorts, an intollerable packet.
'Villains discovery, by Lanthorn and Candle-light:
'(Strange if the author should not see to handle right)
'A Quest of Inquirie, (Jake a Dover's)
'The Jests of Scoggin, and divers others
'(Which no man better the Stationer knowes)
'Wonderfull writers, Poets in Prose.
'What poste-pinde Poets, that on each base Theame
'With invocations vexe Apollo's name!
'Springes for Woodcockes: Doctor Merriman:
'Rub and a good Cast: Taylor the Ferriman.
'Fennor with his Unisounding eare word;
'The unreasonable Epigramatist of Hereford:
'Rowland with his Knaves a murnivall,
'None worth the calling for, a fire burne am all:
'And a number numberlesse that march (untolde)
'Mongst almanacks and pippins to be solde.'

The author might, in some cases, reserve to himself the right of printing a play, but we have no direct evidence on the subject: that poets, after selling to a company, had unfairly obtained money from a stationer, is proved by Thomas Heywood, in the address 'to the Reader' before his *Rape of Lucrece*, which, between 1608 and 1638, went through five impressions: 'though some (he observes) have used 'a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and 'after to the press, for my own part, I here proclaim my-'self ever faithful in the first, and never guilty in the last.' The injury to the theatre was, however, commonly done without any privity on the part of the author; and Heywood adds, that some of his pieces had 'accidentally' got into the printer's hands, and 'therefore so corrupt and 'mangled, copied only by the ear, that I have been as 'unable to know them, as ashamed to challenge them.' Marston, in the preface to his *Malecontent*, 1604, states in accordance with Heywood, as an excuse for printing it, 'the least hurt I can receive, is to do myself the wrong: 'but since others would do me more, the least inconve-'nience is to be accepted.' In his *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637, Heywood explains in what way plays were 'copied by the ear:' he is adverting to his *Queen Elizabeth*, (so he there calls his *If you know not me, you know Nobody*, first published in 1606,) and 'taxeth the most corrupted copy now imprinted,' observing;

——— 'some by *stenography* drew
'The plot, put it in print, scarce one word true.'

In the prefatory matter to his *English Traveller*, 1633, he farther explains the cause why so few of the two-hundred and twenty plays, in which he had had 'an entire hand, or at least a main finger,' had been published.

'True it is (he says) that my plays are not exposed unto 'the world, in volumes to bear the titles of works (as 'others): one reason is, that many of them, by shifting 'and change of companies, have been negligently lost: 'others of them are still retained in the hands of some 'actors, who think it against their peculiar profit to have 'them come in print*; and a third, that it never was any 'great ambition in me to be in this kind voluminously 'read.' Taylor, Pennycuicke, Goffe, and other actors, many years afterwards, when the theatres were closed by authority, published plays which till then they had 'retained in their hands' in MS., in order to relieve their necessities. Middleton's *Witch* was not printed until 1778, when Mr. Reed gave it to the world; and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* continued in MS. until 1824. A few other pieces of the same kind remain 'unsullied by the press,' in private collections, independent of the valuable dramatic relics, *nigram cito rapti in culinam*, by Warburton's domestic.

Considering the relative value of money, it may be thought that the price of a printed play in the time of

* This second of Heywood's reasons may be illustrated by a remarkable item in Henslowe's Diary, the only one of the kind, relative to the printing of the play of *Patient Grissell*, of which Chettle, Dekker and Haughton were the authors. It was played in 1599, and seems to have been extremely popular, and the following is the entry, of which Malone took no notice.

'Lent unto Robart Shaw, the 18 of March, 1599, to geve unto the 'printer to stay the printing of Patient Grissell, 40*s*.'

This would show that both authors and managers had no other remedy in such a case, but were obliged to buy off the printer, when the copy of a play, which they did not wish to be published, got into his hands. *Patient Grissell* came from the press of Henry Rocket in 1603. It has been stated in a previous part of this work, that the names of Chettle and his coadjutors were not printed on the title-page.

Shakespeare was high. The preface of 'a never Writer to an ever Reader,' before the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida*, in 1609, shows that that price was 'a testern;' and so it continued in 1632: T. Randolph, in that year, apologizes to the readers of his *Jealous Lovers* for putting them 'to the expense of a six-pence.' Long afterwards it was not advanced, and as money became more abundant, a corresponding change was made in the manner in which plays were published. Verse was constantly printed as prose, because it occupied less space, and, doubtless, prologues and epilogues were frequently omitted because their insertion would require an additional leaf. *The Birth of Merlin*, 1662, (attributed to Shakespeare and Rowley), Middleton's *Anything for a quiet Life*, 1662, and Webster's *Cure for a Cuckold*, 1661, among others, from the shop of Kirkman and his partners, are striking specimens of the stationers' skill at compression, to the confusion and sometimes destruction of all metre *.

* Prynne, in the 'Epistle Dedicatory' to his *Histriomastix*, 1633, makes, what appears at the first blush, a staggering assertion: viz., that there had been 'above forty thousand play-books printed within 'these two years (as stationers inform me), they being now more ven-'dible than the choicest sermons.' It is obvious, however, that he refers to the total number of copies sold, amounting to forty thousand, and cannot mean that so many different plays had been published in that period. The few years preceding the publication of *Histriomastix* had been more than usually prolific in dramatic productions. Philip Stubbes, (the well known author of *The Anatomy of Abuses*, containing so severe, or rather so violent, an attack upon the stage,) in his *Motive to Good Works*, 1593, even at that date, he complains of the difficulty in getting a learned and religious publication allowed by authority, while 'other books, full of all filthiness, scurrility, bawdry, dissolute-'ness, cozenage, coneycatching, and the like (which call for vengeance 'to Heaven), are either quickly licensed, or at least easily tolerate with-'out all denial or contradiction whatsoever.' It is rather singular, considering his former animosity, that he does not specifically mention play-books, instead of leaving them to be included in the general

Although popular plays were sometimes printed from copies taken in short-hand, or, perhaps, from the MSS. of their parts furnished by inferior and mercenary actors, while they were in a course of performance, no author, yet discovered, mentions anything like the modern practice among visitors of the theatre of taking the book with them: this custom has, perhaps, arisen out of the magnitude of our places of public amusement of this description, which renders it necessary, in order that the dialogue may be fully and correctly understood. That our ancestors furnished themselves sometimes with pamphlets and tracts in order to fill up the vacancies of the performance, or the interval between the entrance of the spectator and the commencement of the play, can be fully established. Henry Parrat, in his *Mastiff*, 1615, supposes, in one part of it, that his work will fall into the hands of some 'mungrel home-spun clerk,' who knows no language but English, and who will read and criticise it at the theatre. W. Fennor, in his *Descriptions*, 1616, imagines that he shall obtain readers in the same manner: he says, 'I suppose this pamphlet 'will hap into your hands before a play begin, with the 'importunate clamour of *Buy a new book*, by some needy 'companion, that will be glad to furnish you with the 'work for a turned tester *.'

censure he applies to works 'full of all filthiness, scurrility, bawdry, dissoluteness,' &c. The printing of plays in 1593, was not unfrequent, but in the following year they were much more numerous.

* Probably this 'needy companion' stood at the door of the theatre hawking his tracts as people went in; and this practice Cartwright expressly mentions in his *Ordinary*, Act iii. Sc. 5, when Catchmey tells Sir Christopher, the curate,

——— 'I shall live to see thee
'Stand *in a play-house door* with thy long box,
'Thy half-crown library, and cry small books.'

Money appears to have been given by persons to whom works were dedicated; and on the authority of Nathaniel Field, Malone has informed us that forty shillings were usually paid by the individual to whom a play was inscribed: in his address before his *Woman is a Weathercock*, 1612, 'to any Woman that hath been no Weathercock,' Field remarks:—'I did determine not to have dedicated 'my play to anybody, because forty shillings I care not 'for.' At this date the usual price of a play seems to have been 12*l.*, compared with which sum 2*l.* merely for the dedication seems a large reward: no wonder, therefore, that Field adds, 'and above, few or none will bestowe on these matters.' A little anterior to this date, we may infer, from the following passage in the dedication of *The Tragedy of Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607, to Sir A. Mannering, that it was not always easy to find a person who would give anything at all to have a play inscribed to him:—'The reason wherefore so many plays have formerly been 'published without inscriptions unto particular patrons '(contrary to the custom in divulging other books), al-'though, perhaps, I could nearly guess, yet because I 'would willingly offend none I will now conceal.' Chapman's dedication of his *All Fools*, 1605, seems to have been cancelled in many copies.

EXTEMPORAL PLAYS AND PLOTS.

Among the documents found by Malone in Dulwich College, formerly the property of Edward Alleyn, its founder, were four 'plats' or plots of dramatic representations, the nature of which our theatrical antiquaries have not ex-

plained. They are the outlines or schemes of performances, regarding which the information we possess is scanty and scattered, as well as unsatisfactory, and perhaps it will be impossible entirely to clear up the difficulty regarding them.

Only one of these four 'plats' or 'platforms' now remains in its original depository at Dulwich College: all the rest, which were in the hands of Malone or Steevens, have disappeared. It is true that all four are printed in Malone's History of the Stage*; but in that which only I have had an opportunity of comparing, I found many errors and variations of greater or less importance.

It is a pasteboard of about fifteen inches long, by about nine inches broad, with a hole in the centre near the top, by which it was doubtless hung up on a nail or peg, in order that each actor engaged in the performance might have the opportunity of referring to it as the piece proceeded, and thus be able to ascertain his place and duty. It is divided into two columns; but it will be more convenient and quite as intelligible not to give it tabularly, as in the original, but following precisely the course of the story as detailed in the two columns, proceeding to the bottom of the first before we commence the second. It is in a clear Italian hand, not unlike that which G. Peele wrote in 1596. It is as follows:—

'The Platt of The secound parte of the Seven Deadlie Sinns.

'A tent being plast one the stage for Henry the Sixt. he in it Asleepe. to him The Leutenñt. A purcevaunt R. Cowley 'Jo Duke and i warder R. Pallant—to them Pride, Gluttony, 'Wrath and Covetousnes at one dore, at an other dore Envie

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 348, *et seq.*

'Sloth and Lechery. The Three put back the foure and so 'exeunt.

'Henry Awaking Enter A Keeper J Sincler. to him a 'servaunt T. Belt. to him Lidgate and the Keeper. Exit 'then enter againe—Then Envy passeth over the stag—Lidgate 'speakes.

'A sennit. Dumb Shew.

'Enter King Gorboduk with 2 Counsailers. R. Burbadg 'Mr. Brian, Th. Goodale. The Queene with ferrex and Por- 'rex and som attendaunts follow. Saunder. W Sly. Harry. 'J Duke. Kitt. Ro Pallant. J Holland. After Gorbeduk 'hath Consulted with his Lords he brings his 2 sonns to se- 'verall seates. They enving on on other ferrex offers to take 'Porex his Corowne. he draws his weopon. The King Queen 'and Lords step between them. They Thrust Them away and 'menasing ech other exit. The Queene and Lords depart 'Hevilie. Lidgate speaks.

'Enter Ferrex Crownd with Drum and Coulers and soldiers 'one way. Harry. Kitt. R Cowly John duke. to them At 'another dore Porrex drum and Collors and soldiers. W Sly. 'R Pallant. John Sincler. J Holland.

'Enter Queene with 2 Counsailors. Mr. Brian, Tho. 'Goodale. to them ferrex and Porrex severall waies with 'Drums and Powers. Gorboduk entreing in the midst between. 'Henry speaks.

'Alarums with Excurtions. After Lidgate speakes.

'Enter ferrex and Porrex severally, Gordoduke still following 'them. Lucius and Damasus. Mr. Bry. T. Good.

'Enter ferrex at one dore. Porrex at an other. The fight. 'ferrex is slayne. To them Videna The Queene. to hir 'Damasus. to him Lucius.

'Enter Porrex sad with Dordan his man. R. P. W Sly. to 'them the Queene and A Ladie. Nich Saunder. And Lords 'R. Cowly, Mr Brian. To them Lucius Running.

'Henry and Lidgat speaks. Sloth passeth over.

'Enter Giraldus Phronesius Aspatia Pompeia Rodope. 'R Cowly Tho Goodale R. Go. Ned. Nick.

'Enter Sardinapalus Arbactus Nicanor and Captaines 'marching. Mr Phillipps. Mr. Pope. R. Pa. Kitt. J Sincler. 'J Holland.

'Enter a Captaine with Aspatia and the Ladies. Kitt.

'Lidgat speake

'Enter Nicanor with other Captaines R. Pall. J Sincler. 'Kitt. J Holland. R. Cowly. to them Arbactus Mr. Pope. to 'him will foole. J Duke. to him Rodopeie Ned. to her 'Sardanapalus Like a woman with Aspatia Rodope, Pompeia 'will foole. to them Arbactus and 3 musitions Mr Pope. J 'Sincler. Vincent. R Cowley. to them Nicanor and others 'R. P. Kitt.

'Enter Sardanapa. with the Ladies. to them a Messenger 'Tho. Goodale. to him will foole Running. A Larum.

'Enter Arbactus pursuing Sardanapalus and The Ladies 'fly. After enter Sarda. with as many Jewels robes and gold 'as he can cary.

'Alarum

'Enter Arbactus Nicanor and The other Captains in tri- 'umph. mr Pope. R. Pa. Kitt. J Holl. R. Cow. J. Sinc.

'Henry speaks and Lidgate. Lechery passeth over the 'stag.

'Enter Tereus [Philomele Julio. R. Burbadge. Ro. R. 'Pall. J Sink.

'Enter Progne Itis and Lords. Saunder. Will. J Duke. 'W. Sly. Hary.

'Enter Philomele and Tereus. to them Julio.

'Enter Progne Panthea, Itis and Lords. Saunder. T. Belt.

'Will. w. Sly. Hary. Tho Goodale. to them Tereus with
'Lords R. Burbadge. J. Duk. R Cowly.

'A Dumb Show. Lidgate speakes

'Enter Progne with the Sampler. to her Tereus from Hunt-
'ing with his Lords. to them Philomele with Itis hed in a dish.
'Mercury Comes and all vanish. to him 3 Lords. Th. Goodale.
'Hary. W. Sly.

'Henry speaks. to him Lieutenant Pursevaunt and warders.
'R. Cowly. J Duke. J. Holland. Joh Sincler. to them
'Warwick. Mr Brian

'Lidgate speaks to the Audiens and so
'Exitts.

'FINIS.'

It is to be observed that this is only the plat of the *second* part of the Seven Deadly Sins, and that the plat of the *first* part, which probably displayed the effects of Pride, Gluttony, Wrath, and Covetousness, has been irretrievably lost. I will speak briefly of the form of the piece, of its nature, and of the actors engaged in its representation.

It relates to three distinct stories, illustrating the consequences of Envy, Sloth, and Lechery: first, that of Gorboduc and his sons Ferrex and Porrex, secondly, that of Sardanapalus, and thirdly, that of Tereus; and the question arises, in what way Henry VI. and Lidgate were concerned in it? Henry VI. is in his tent, and probably Lidgate is supposed to regulate the performance in his presence, and for his amusement. In the course of the piece, Henry and Lidgate twice talk together, and Lidgate seems to act as chorus, to explain the dumb shows, and to deliver the prologue and epilogue.

It is easy to follow the course of each story, merely by

the explanations given in the 'plat:' the tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex is well known, but no pieces of a similar kind have reached us, regarding the luxury of Sardanapalus, or the lechery of Tereus. Steevens, when adverting to these 'plats,' concludes that such plays once existed, and that parts of them were used in this performance. This is at least doubtful, and if so, we must suppose that four other plays had been previously employed in the representation of the four other deadly sins, as displayed in the *first* part.

I apprehend that the greater portion of the dialogue, at least between the principal characters, was to a certain degree extemporaneous, and that this production, and the three others of a similar kind, were got up as experiments in the nature of the Italian *Commedie al improviso*, in which the actors invented, or were supposed to invent, the dialogue for the occasion*. In the production before us it is evident that there must have been a good deal of pantomime, but it was clearly not at all without dialogue. We have proof that the Italian extemporal plays were then known in England. The 'comedians of Ravenna,' who were not 'tied to any written device,' but who, nevertheless, had 'certain grounds or principles of their own,' are mentioned in Whetstone's *Heptameron*, 1582; and performers of the same kind are particularly spoken of in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. Hieronimo, wishing to get up a play in haste, says,

> 'The Italian tragedians were so sharp of wit,
> 'That in one hour's meditation
> 'They would perform anything in action:'

* There was an Italian *Commediante*, named Drousiano, and his company, in London, in January, 1577-8. (See Annals of the Stage, i. 235.) The nature of their performances is not any where stated, but it is possible that they might represent some extempore comedies.

and Lorenzo replies,

——— 'I have seen the like
'In Paris, amongst the French tragedians.'

The Italian 'extemporal plays' are also mentioned in Ben Jonson's *Case is Altered*; and, perhaps, when Polonius, speaking of the players, tells Hamlet 'for the law of writ and *liberty*, these are your only men *,' the passage may be explained by supposing that he means, that they were good both for written performances and for those in which 'liberty' was allowed, the dialogue not being set down for the performers, although the course of the plot was regularly marked. At a later date the matter seems to have been well understood †.

The contriver and arranger of the 'plat' of the Seven Deadly Sins was Richard Tarleton, who was most celebrated for his talent at extemporal versifying. Gabriel Harvey assigns it to him in his *Four Letters*, &c., 1592, where he states that it was played in Oxford as well as in London;

* Act ii. Scene 2.

† In R. Brome's *City Wit*, played about 1632, Sarpego, the schoolmaster, proposes to get up a dialogue in the nature of a moral between Lady Luxury, a Prodigal, and a Fool; and the Widow Tryman inquires who is to personate the characters, to which Sarpego replies—'Why in that lies the nobility of the device: it should be done after 'the fashion of Italy by ourselves, *only the plot premeditated*—to what 'our aim must tend: marry, the speeches must be extempore.' In the same author's *Antipodes*, 1640, Bye-play is represented as an extempore actor, who delivers nothing premeditatedly. This play contains a mention of Shakespeare and an allusion to the Earl of Southampton that I do not recollect to have seen quoted: Lord Letoy, speaking of his players, says—

'These lads can act the Emperor's lives all over,
'And Shakespeare's Chronicled Histories to boot;
'And were that Cæsar, or that English Earl,
'That lov'd a play and player so well, now living,
'I would not be outvyed in my delights.'

and every time it was repeated the actors would of course be more perfect and more ready with the dialogue suiting their parts. Thomas Nash also, in his *Strange News*, 1592, speaks of the 'play of the Seven Deadly Sins' as the work of Tarleton. Extemporal composition on the stage, both by him and others, was no novelty even in 1580: the author of the *Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays*, sums up his arguments, or, rather, invectives in these terms:—'Such doubtless is mine opinion of com-'mon plays, usual jesting, and *rhiming ex-tempore*, that in 'a Christian Commonweal they are not sufferable.' Meres thus speaks of Tarleton and his contemporary, both of whom are also praised by Howes, in his continuation of Stow's Chronicle. 'As Antipater Sidonius (says Meres*) 'was famous for extemporal verse in Greek, and Ovid for 'his *Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat*, so was our 'Tarleton, of whom Dr. Case, that learned physician, thus 'speaketh in the seventh book and seventeenth chapter of 'his Politics:—*Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudavit 'quendam peritum tragœdiarum actorem; Cicero suum 'Roscium: nos Angli Tarletonum, in cujus voce et vultu 'omnes jocosi affectus, in cujus cerebroso capite lepidæ 'facetiæ habitant.* And so is now our witty Wilson, 'who, for learning and extemporal wit, in this faculty is 'without compare or compeer, as to his great and eternal 'commendations he manifested in his challenge at the 'Swan on the Bank-side.'

What part Tarleton took in his own 'plat' does not appear, his name not being mentioned, but Malone suggested that it was that of Will Fool, who figures only as

* Palladis Tamia, 1598, fo. 285 b.

an attendant upon Sardanapalus. It will also be observed that another person called 'Will' is mentioned as one of the performers, and Malone conjectured that this might be no other than Shakespeare. It is just possible that it should be so, but hardly likely that he should have taken the part of Itys, which Malone also assigns to him. There is as much reason for saying that Marlow also performed in it, because we find the abbreviation for Christopher frequently used *: Ned was perhaps Edward Alleyn. There is a remarkable difference in the manner in which the various actors are mentioned: some are only called by the most familiar abridgement of the Christian name, as Will, Kit, Ned, Harry, Nick, &c.; others usually have their surnames appended, as R. Burbadge, R. Pallant, John Duke, T. Goodale, W. Sly, &c., and three are mentioned with the style of Mr. always preceding them, viz., Mr. Bryan, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Phillips. Perhaps they were the seniors and largest sharers of the company, and were, therefore, more respectfully treated.

Steevens seems to have thought that some scenes from the old play of *Henry VI.* were also represented †, but this notion is not supported by the plan of the representation: Envy, Sloth, and Lechery drive from the stage (or 'put

* We know from Thomas Heywood, who was the contemporary of Shakespeare, if not of Marlow, that the last was always called *Kit*, and the first *Will*, by their acquaintances:—

'Marlow, renown'd for his rare art and wit,
'Could ne'er attain beyond the name of *Kit*....
'Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill
'Commanded mirth and passion, was but *Will*.'

Hierarchie of the blessed Angels, 1635, Lib. 4.

Heywood also mentions the following poets—Greene, Kyd, Watson, Nash, Beaumont, Jonson, Fletcher, Webster, Dekker, May, Middleton, and Ford, who were called by abbreviations of their Christian names.

† Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 356.

back,' as it is expressed in the 'plat') Pride, Gluttony, Wrath, and Covetousness, while Henry is asleep in his tent, and he does not wake until after they are gone. The characters of Henry VI., Lidgate, Warwick, and of the Lieutenant, Pursuivant, and Warder seem to have formed only a kind of induction and conclusion to the main subjects of the drama.

The three other 'plats,' or platforms of dramatic representations, are precisely of the same character as that on which I have dwelt. The most ancient, in the opinion of Malone, who had them all before him, and was therefore most competent to judge, was that headed '*the plotte of the deade man's fortune*,' from which it is impossible to make out any story: nevertheless, the piece was regularly divided into five acts, and 'music,' which was to be performed in the intervals, is four times noted. Malone was surprised to see the celebrated name of Burbadge placed against the part of a messenger, but he forgot how young Richard must then have been: the only other names of actors inserted are Darlowe, Robert Lee, and Sam, who has usually the letter *b* before his name. The names of some of the characters are singular: Urganda, probably an enchantress, was one of them: others were Laertes, Eschines, Tesephon, Algerius, Valedor, Carinus, Aspida, Bellville, Statira, and Rose, together with two persons called Pantaloon and Peascod, the latter of whom had 'spectacles.' Some of the directions are extremely minute, and the following merits quotation—

'Enter Kinge Egereon, allgeryus, tesephon, with lordes; the 'executioner with his sworde and blocke, and offycers with 'holberds: to them carynus and prelyor; then after that the 'musicke plaies, and then enters 3 antique faires [fairies] 'dancynge on after a nother: the first takes the sworde from the

'executioner and sendes him a waye; the other caryes a waie 'the blocke, and the third sends a waie the offycers and un- 'bindes allgeryus and tesephon, and as they entred so they 'departe.'

The piece was introduced by a prologue, but it does not appear that it was followed by an epilogue, the last direction being, 'Enter the panteloun, and causeth the cheste or truncke to be broughte forth.'

The date of the third representation of the same kind (which, however, Malone places fourth) can be fixed with sufficient precision: it is entitled *The plott of Frederick and Basilea;* and in Henslowe's Diary it is first mentioned as having been performed on the 3rd of June, 1597. It only occupies one column of the two into which the pasteboard is divided, and the acts are not distinguished. It had, however, the formalities of a prologue and epilogue, which were spoken by Richard Alleyn, whom Steevens, in one of his notes upon this performance, confounds with Edward Alleyn (who is called 'Mr. Alleyn' throughout), and terms 'the manager.' He was also puzzled by the word 'gatherers,' which he found placed against 'the guard,' as if the gatherers had composed the guard: 'Without 'assistance (he observes) from the play of which this is 'the plot, the denomination *gatherers* is perhaps inex- 'plicable.' He would have found it very explicable if he had adverted to a passage before cited from Dekker's *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609:—'Whether, therefore, the *ga-* '*therers* of the public or private playhouse stand to receive 'the afternoon's rent,' &c. The 'gatherers' were those who gathered or collected the money, and who, during the performance, after all the spectators were arrived and when their services were no longer needed at the doors,

were required to appear on the stage as 'the guard' of Myron-hamet, the part apparently supported by Edward Alleyn.

I am able also, from Henslowe's MS., to fix the date of the fourth and last of these singular productions. It is entitled, *The plott of the First parte of Tamar Cam*, and it is inserted in Henslowe's Diary under the date of October, 1602. This piece was divided into five acts, and between each a 'chorus' was delivered by 'Dick Jubie.' Judging as well as we can of the plot from the manner in which the entrances and exits of the characters are marked, it does not seem that this representation followed the course of Marlow's first part of *Tamburlaine the Great*, although it was upon the same story. A number of spirits were introduced, one of whom was called Ascalon: he and the other agents played prominent parts in the plot, at the conclusion of which, persons from twelve nations, owning the sway of the conqueror, came upon the stage, each being represented by two actors. The directions for the last scene run in the following form—

'Enter Attaxes and Artabisus: Mr. Charles, Mr. Boorne: 'attendants, George, W. Parr and Parsons: Drom and cullers. 'To them Captaine, Tho. Marbeck: to them Tamor Cam, and 'Palmida, and Ottanes.

'Enter the Tartars: Mr. Towne, Mr. Denygten.

'Enter the Geates: Gedion and Gibbs.

'Enter the Amozins: Jack Grigorie and little Will.

'Enter the Nagars: Tho. Rowley and the red fast fellow.

'Enter the ollive cullord moores: A. Jeffs Mr. Jubie.

'Enter Canniballs: Rester, old Browne.

'Enter Hermophrodites: Jeames, Parsons.

'Enter the people of Bohare: W. Parr, W. Cart.

'Enter Pigmies: gils his boy, and little will Barne.

'Enter the Crymms: Mr. Sam, Ned Browne.

'Enter Cataians: Dick Jubie, and George.
'Enter the Bactrians: W. Parr, Tho. Marbeck.'

Thus four-and-twenty persons seem required to represent the conquered nations, besides the characters in the play, also necessarily on the stage; but it will be observed that George, Parsons, Tho. Marbeck, and W. Parr doubled their parts, going out and returning as representatives of an Hermaphrodite, one of the people of Bohare, a Cattaian, and the two Bactrians who last entered, so that they had most time to re-dress. The character of Assinico, or Assinego, the clown or fool, also deserves remark: it was played by Gabriel Singer, a very celebrated actor of such parts, and in one scene of the performance he was to appear drunk. This 'plott' differs from the other three in one respect, viz., that in a margin down the side of the first column are regularly inserted such stage directions as 'sound sennet,' 'sound flourish' on the entrance of the principal persons: 'thunder' on the appearance of the spirits: 'sound alarum' before a battle, 'wind horn,' 'drum a far off,' &c.

Steevens was of opinion that these 'plats' had belonged to three different theatres*, and he states that they were all written 'in very different hands.'

It is not easy to determine whether another 'plat-form' of a dramatic performance in 1602, preserved in a printed shape by the Society of Antiquaries, belongs at all, or in what degree, to the same species of representation. It is a broadside with the following title:—'The plot of the 'play, called *England's Joy*. To be playd at the Swan, 'this 6 of November, 1602.' It was an allegorical ex-

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 358.

hibition of some of the principal events of the reign of Elizabeth, who was personated under the character of *England's Joy;* and the broadside would seem to have been intended to make the matter more intelligible to the audience as the dumb-show (accompanied perhaps by dialogue, or *vivâ voce* explanations) proceeded. The author of it was a person of the name of Vennard, as he is called in the following lines in Saville's *Entertainment of King James at Theobald's*, 1603 :—

'I cannot deem it now a gulling toy,
'Which Vennard (inspir'd) entitled *England's Joy:*
'I rather guess he did our good divine,
'Not daring to disclose 't before full time.
'Be bold, go on—now's thy presaging plain,
'King James is *England's Joy*, long hop'd for gain.'

It is mentioned several times by Taylor, the water-poet, in 1614, in his *Cast over the Water to William Fennor*, who is not to be confounded with Vennard (although Gifford commits the error), whom Ben Jonson also alludes to in two of his masks, *Love Restored*, 1616, and the *Mask of Augurs*, 1622. *England's Joy* is reprinted in the last edition of the Harleian Miscellany.

ON AUDIENCES.

It does not appear to have been common for audiences to ride to the play in coaches, until late in the reign of James I. According to Stow's Chronicle, these vehicles were brought into England in 1564, when they were introduced by Guilliam Boonen, who afterwards became coachman to the Queen: the first he ever made was for the Earl of Rutland; but 'by little and little they grew

'usual among the nobility and others of sort, and within 'twenty years became a great trade of coach-making*.' To such an excess was it thought that the use of coaches had been carried in 1601, that a bill was brought into the House of Commons, to restrain the excess, but it was rejected on the second reading. In 1613, the watermen of London presented a petition to James I., praying that the players might not be permitted to have a theatre in London or Middlesex, within four miles of the Thames, in order that the inhabitants might be induced, as formerly, to visit the playhouses in Southwark in boats. Not very long afterwards, sedans came into fashion, to the farther injury of those who plied upon the river; and in R. Brome's *Court Beggar*, (acted in 1632, at the Cockpit in Drury Lane,) a projector proposes a scheme

'For building a new theatre or play-house
'Upon the Thames, on barges, or flat boats,
'To help the watermen out of the loss
'They've suffered by *Sedans*, under which project
'The subject groans; when for the ease of one
'Two abler men must suffer, and not the price
'Or pride of *horse-flesh* or *coach hire* abated.
'This shall bring floods of gain to the watermen,
'Of which they'll give a fourth of every fare
'They shall board at the floating theatre,
'Or set a-shore from thence; the Poets and Actors
'Half of their first year's profits.'

Here three modes of going to the theatre by land are clearly noticed—in sedans, on horseback, and in coaches. In the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, played in 1600, Ben Jonson mentions the ordinary use of 'coaches, hobby-

* See Mr. Markland's learned Dissertation 'on Carriages in England,' in Vol. xx. of *Archæologia*, where nearly everything that can be said upon the subject will be found.

horses, and foot-cloth nags;' but Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-Book*, 1609, only speaks of 'hobby-horses used to ride to a new play.' In 1631, as is detailed in the Annals of the Stage (ii. 31), the inhabitants of Blackfriars petitioned the Privy Council against the nuisance of so many coaches, which brought auditors to, or carried them away from the theatre there. Two years afterwards, an order was made upon the subject, but it was only temporarily enforced. Taylor's (the Water-poet) *World runs on Wheels* was written expressly against the use of coaches; and he notices the manner in which Blackfriars was 'dammed up' by them. In Shakerly Marmyon's *Fine Companion*, (printed in 1633, and played at Salisbury Court,) coaches to convey persons to and from playhouses are twice mentioned.

New plays seem always to have attracted large audiences. Dekker, in his *News from Hell*, 1606, observes, 'it was 'a comedy to see what a crowding, as if it had been at a 'new play, there was upon the Acherontic strand;' and one of the characters in Marmyon's *Fine Companion* says, 'a new play, and a gentleman in a new suit, claim the 'same privilege—at their first presentment their estima-'tion is double.' The behaviour of an audience, on such an occasion, is well described by Ben Jonson, the mirror of manners, in his *Case is Altered*, acted at Blackfriars about 1599:—'But the sport (says Valentine, Act ii. Sc. 4,) 'is, at a new play, to observe the sway, and variety of 'opinion that passeth it. A man shall have such a con-'fused mixture of judgment poured out in the throng there, 'as ridiculous as laughter itself. One says, he likes not 'the writing, another likes not the plot, another not the 'playing: and sometimes a fellow that comes not there past 'once in five years, at a Parliament time or so, will be as

'deep mired in censuring as the best, and swear by God's 'foot he would never stir his foot to see a hundred such 'as that is.' The conduct of 'capricious gallants,' on the production of a new play, is thus subsequently noticed by the same character:—'They have taken such a habit of 'dislike in all things, that they will approve nothing, be it 'never so conceited or elaborate; but sit dispersed, making 'faces and spitting, wagging their upright ears, and cry '"*filthy, filthy!*" simply uttering their own condition, 'and using their wryed countenances, instead of a vice, to 'turn the good aspects of all that shall sit near them from 'what they behold.'

The same author, in his *Devil is an Ass*, played in 1616, pleasantly and pointedly touches the demeanour of the young men who used to sit upon the stage and display their fine suits there. Fitzdottrell tells his wife:—

——— 'Here is a cloak cost fifty pounds, wife,
'Which I can sell for thirty, when I have seen
'All London in it, and London has seen me.
'To-day I go to the Blackfriars playhouse,
'Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,
'Rise up between the acts, let fall my cloak,
'Publish a handsome man, and a rich suit;
'And that's a special end why we go thither,
'All that pretend to stand for't on the stage:
'The ladies ask, who's that? for they do come
'To see us, love, as we do to see them.'

Another dramatist, Lewis Sharp, who wrote *The Noble Stranger*, 1640, and in it laughed a little at the expense of Ben Jonson, thus makes Pupillus, one of his characters, abuse the fastidiousness and discordant dispositions of audiences.—'Oh, that I were in a playhouse! I would tell 'the whole audience their pitiful, heretical, critical humours. 'Let a man, striving to enrich his labours, make himself

'as poor as a broken citizen, that dares not so much as 'show the tips on 's horns, yet will these people cry it 'down, they know not why.'

Davenant's *Unfortunate Lovers* was acted in 1643, and in the prologue the author complains of the greater fastidiousness of audiences at that date than formerly: he tells them:—

——— 'ten times more wit, than was allow'd
'Your silly ancestors in twenty year,
'Y'expect should in two hours be given here:
'For they, he swears, to the theatre would come
'Ere they had din'd, to take up the best room;
'There sit on benches, not adorn'd with mats,
'And graciously did vail their high-crown'd hats
'To every half-dress'd player, as he still
'Through the hangings peep'd to see how the house did fill.
'Good easy-judging souls! with what delight
'They would expect a jig or target-fight,
'A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
'Was weakly written, so 'twere strongly fought.'

Davenant here, perhaps, alludes to times antecedent even to those when Ben Jonson, in 1599, complained how difficult it was to satisfy audiences.

It would be easy, from the productions of puritanical opponents of the stage, Gosson, Northbrooke, Stubbes, Rankin *, Raynolds, Green †, or Prynne, to quote passages to show that our old playhouses, besides the respectable part of the audience, were frequented by the lowest and most debauched classes of society, for the purposes of vice and profligacy. Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, asserts that 'in the playhouses at London, it is the

* Author of the *Mirror of Monsters*, 4to. 1587.

† J. G[reen] wrote *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors*, 1615, 4to. It was in answer to Heywood's tract of 1612.

'fashion of youths to go first into the yard and to carry 'their eye through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, 'where they spy carrion thither they fly, and press as 'near to the fairest as they can.' I know of no account so minute and circumstantial of the manner in which women of the town frequented theatres about this date, as in Thomas Cranley's rare poem called *Amanda*, published in 1635*: he wrote it while a prisoner in the King's Bench, and speaks, apparently, from his own experience. He is describing the habits and artifices of a prostitute.

'The places thou dost usually frequent
'Is to some playhouse in an afternoon,
'And for no other meaning and intent
'But to get company to sup with soon;
'More changeable and wavering than the moon,
'And with thy wanton looks attracting to thee
'The amorous spectators for to woo thee.
'Thither thou com'st in several forms and shapes
'To make thee still a stranger to the place,
'And train new lovers, like young birds, to scrapes,
'And by thy habit so to change thy face:
'At this time plain, to-morrow all in lace:
'Now in the richest colours may be had;
'The next day all in mourning, black and sad.
'In a stuff waistcoat and a peticoat,
'Like to a chamber-maid thou com'st to-day:
'The next day after thou dost change thy note;
'Then like a country wench thou com'st in grey,
'And sittest like a stranger at the play:
'To-morrow after that, thou comest then
'In the neat habit of a citizen.

* He was a friend of George Wither, and has some lines signed Tho. C. before *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613. Wither also addresses an Epigram to him as 'his dear friend Master Thomas Cranly,' which is printed at the end of the *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. It does not appear on what account Cranly was imprisoned, but he was first in the Fleet, and afterwards in the King's Bench.

'The next time rushing in thy silken weeds
'Embroider'd, lac'd, perfum'd, in glittering show;
'So that thy look an admiration breeds,
'Rich like a lady and attended so:
'As brave as any countess dost thou go.
'Thus Proteus-like strange shapes thou vent'rest on
'And changest hue with the cameleon *.'

The custom of women of the town to entice young men to sup with them at taverns after the play, is recorded by Glapthorne in his amusing comedy *Wit in a Constable*, 1640, where Valentine declares—

——————'We are
'Gentlemen, ladies; and no city foremen,
'That never dare be vent'rous on a beauty,
'Unless when wenches take them up at plays,
'To entice them at the next licentious tavern
'To spend a supper on them.'

This is the practice referred to in the first stanza of the preceding extract from Cranley's *Amanda*. It will be con-

* There is no more detailed and highly finished picture of the habits, expedients, and peculiarities of wantons at this period than in the poem from which the foregoing quotation is made. Among other things, describing the furniture, &c., of the lodging of a prostitute, Cranley gives the following account of her library, mentioning by name Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphrodite*, and Marston's *Pygmalion's Image*—

'And then a heap of bookes of thy devotion
'Lying upon a shelf close underneath,
'Which thou more think'st upon than on thy death;
'They are not prayers of a grieved soul
'That with repentance doth his sins condole;
'But amorous pamphlets, that best like thine eyes,
'And songs of love and sonnets exquisite.
'Among these *Venus and Adonis* lies,
'With *Salmacis* and her *Hermaphrodite:*
'*Pygmalion* 's there, with his transform'd delight,
'And many merry comedies with this,
'Where the *Athenian Phryne* acted is.'

cluded that pick-pockets also frequented the crowded playhouses. That unique tract, *Kemp's Nine Days' Wonder*, 1600 *, giving an account of his dancing a morris from London to Norwich, makes mention of a mode of treating cut-purses when they were detected at theatres, which I find no where else adverted to by any writer: they were seized and tied to a post on the stage, exposed to the gaze and recognition of the whole audience. It seems that two of these artists followed Kemp's progress, in order to profit by the crowd that attended him, and being taken they challenged acquaintance with the merry morris-dancer, and asserted that they had laid wagers about the completion of his undertaking: 'Whereupon (says Kemp, 'in his droll narrative,) the officers bringing them to my 'inn, I justly denied their acquaintance, saving that I 'remembered one of them to be a noted cut-purse, such a 'one as we tie to a post on our stage for all people to 'wonder at, when at a play they are taken pilfering.'

The following laughable anecdote of an expedient resorted to by a gentleman who had been robbed at a play is copied from a MS. in the British Museum †:—

'A gentleman at a play sat by a fellow that he strongly 'suspected for a cut-purse, and for the probation of him 'took occasion to draw out his purse, and put it up so 'carelessly as it dangled down (but his eye watched it 'strictly with a glance), and he bent his discourse another 'way; which his suspected neighbour observing, upon 'his fair opportunity exercised his craft, and having got

* Among Burton's books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
† Harleian MSS. N .6395.

'his booty began to remove away, which the gentleman 'noticing instantly draws his knife and whips off one of 'his ears, and vowed he would have something for his 'money. The cut-purse began to swear, and stamp, 'and threaten: "Nay, go to, Sirrah (says the other), be 'quiet, I'll offer you fair: give me my purse again, here's 'your ear. Take it and begone."'

Whatever might be the origin of this joke, it is certainly considerably older than the date when the MS. in the Harleian Collection was written, and Marlow employed it as a dramatic incident in his *Massacre at Paris*.

Playhouses were most frequented in term time, for then the town was fullest, and then it was that new plays were often brought out. Upon this point many authorities might be quoted, and among them J. Stephens's *Essays and Characters*, 1615, and Wye Saltonstall's *Picturæ Loquentes*, 1631. In *Histriomastix*, 1610, Post-haste, the poet, makes a song *extempore*, which contains various dramatic allusions, and ends thus to our present purpose.

'Oh delicate wine, with thy power so divine,
'Full of ravishing sweet inspiration!
'Yet a verse may run clear, that is tapp'd out of beer,
'Especially in the vacation.

'But when the term comes, that with trumpets and drums,
'Our playhouses ring in confusion;
'Then Bacchus me murder, but rime we no further:
'Some sack, now, upon the conclusion.'

The visitors of our old theatres used to amuse themselves with reading, playing at cards, drinking, and smoking before or during the performance. It has been already shown that pamphlets were sold at the doors of play-

houses, to attract purchasers as they went in, and Fitzgeoffrey, H. Parrot, and other authors allude to this custom, in passages I have extracted or mentioned. Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, tells his hero, whom he supposes to be sitting on the stage, 'before the play begins fall to cards,' and whether he win or lose, he is directed to tear some of the cards and to throw them about just before the entrance of the prologue. Stephen Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, informs us that the young men of his day treated the ladies with apples *, and Fitzgeoffrey mentions that they were cried in the theatres—

'Had fate fore-read me in a crowd to die,
'To be made adder-deaf with pippin-cry †.'

Nut-cracking was also a favourite amusement of the lower class of spectators, to the great annoyance of poets and players; and in the prologue 'for the Court' before his *Staple of News*, Ben Jonson speaks of—

——— 'the vulgar sort
'Of nut-crackers, who only come for sight.'

It is of course unnecessary to establish that other fruits were sold in playhouses at the respective seasons.

The consumption of tobacco in theatres is mentioned by innumerable authorities, but it should seem from a line in the epigrams of Sir J. Davies and Christopher Marlow, printed about 1598, that at that period it was a service of some danger, and generally objected to:—

'He *dares to take Tobacco* on the stage;'

* Hentzer's Travels in England, in 1598, may be quoted to the same effect:—'In these theatres fruits, such as applies, pears, and nuts, according to the season, are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine.'

† *Notes from the Blackfriars*, 1620.

but the practice very soon became common, for two years afterwards, one of the boy-actors in the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, imitating a gallant supposed to be sitting on the stage, speaks of having his 'three sorts of tobacco in his pocket, and his light by him.'— Dekker, in 1609, tells his gallant to 'get his match lighted;' and in *The Scornful Lady*, 1616, Captains of Gallyfoists are ridiculed, who only 'wear swords to reach fire at a play,' for the purpose of lighting their pipes. Tobacco was even sold at the playhouse, and in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, Ben Jonson talks of those who 'accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at our theatres*.' In 1602, when Dekker printed his *Satiromastix*, ladies sometimes smoked. Asinius Bubo, offering his pipe, observes:—'Tis at your 'service, gallants, and the tobacco too: 'tis right pudding, 'I can tell you: a lady or two took a pipe full or two at 'my hands, and praised it 'fore the heavens.' Prynne states that in his time, instead of apples, ladies were sometimes 'offered the tobacco-pipe,' at plays †.

Ben Jonson, Webster, Beaumont and Fletcher, Nabbes, and various other dramatists, allude to memorandum-books, then called writing-tables or table-books, used by auditors to note down jests in plays for retail, or passages for malicious criticism.

It is needless to go into proof that audiences in our old theatres expressed their approbation or disapprobation in much the same manner as at present, by clapping of hands, exclamations, hisses, groans, and the imitation of the mewing of cats:—'Signor Snuff (says Marston in the in-

* See also *The Actor's Remonstrance*, 1643, 4to.

† *Histriomastix*, 1633, marginal note to p. 363.

'duction to his *What you Will*, 1607,) Monsieur Mew, 'and Cavaliero Blirt, are three of the most to be feared 'auditors,' and farther on he asks if the poet's resolve shall be

——— 'struck through with the blirt
'Of a *goose* breath?'

so that even the technical phrase of 'treating an actor with goose' was understood then as well as at present.

Edmund Gayton* gives the following singular and minute account of the behaviour of audiences at some of the public theatres, especially at Shrovetide and holiday time, mentioning several well-known dramatic performances, and others that have perished.

'Men come not to study at a playhouse, but love such ex-'pressions and passages which with ease insinuate themselves 'into their capacities. *Lingua*, that learned comedy of the 'contention betwixt the five senses for the superiority, is not 'to be prostituted to the common stage, but it is only proper 'for an academy: to bring them *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 'Green's *Tu Quoque*, *The Devil of Edmonton*, and the like; 'or if it be on holidays, when Sailors, Watermen, Shoemakers, 'Butchers, and Apprentices, are at leisure, then it is good 'policy to amaze those violent spirits with some tearing tragedy 'full of fights and skirmishes, as the *Guelphs and Ghib-'belines*, *Greeks and Trojans*, or *The Three London Appren-'tices*, which commonly ends in six acts, the spectators 'frequently mounting the stage, and making a more bloody 'catastrophe among themselves than the players did. I have 'known upon one of these festivals, but especially at Shrove-'tide, where the players have been appointed, notwithstanding 'their bills to the contrary, to act what the major part of the 'company had a mind to; sometimes *Tamerlaine*, sometimes '*Jugurth*, sometimes *The Jew of Malta*, and sometimes parts 'of all these; and at last, none of the three taking, they were

* *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 271.

'forced to undress and put off their tragic habits, and conclude 'the day with *The Merry Milkmaids*. And unless this were 'done, and the popular humour satisfied, as sometimes it so 'fortuned that the players were refractory, the benches, the 'tiles, the laths, the stones, oranges, apples, nuts, flew about 'most liberally; and as there were mechanics of all professions, 'who fell every one to his own trade, and dissolved a house in 'an instant, and made a ruin of a stately fabric. It was not 'then the most mimical nor fighting man, Fowler nor Andrew 'Cane, could pacify: prologues nor epilogues would prevail; 'the devil and the fool were quite out of favour: nothing but 'noise and tumult fills the house, until a cog take them, and 'then to the bawdy-houses and reform them, and instantly to 'the Bank-side, where the poor bears must conclude the riot 'and fight twenty dogs at a time, beside the butchers which 'sometimes fell into the service: this performed, and the horse 'and jackanapes for a jig, they had sport enough that day for 'nothing.'

ON THE PAYMENT OF AUTHORS.

The most circumstantial information, regarding the extent to, and the mode in, which our ancient dramatic poets were to be paid, is to be found in the Diary and other manuscripts formerly belonging to Philip Henslowe, and for many years preserved at Dulwich College, from whence they were borrowed by Malone. Had he lived, they would all doubtless have been punctually restored; but after his decease the Diary only was returned, and it remained for the Master and Fellows to claim a few other papers at the sale of Malone's books. By far the most valuable documents, consisting of original letters from dramatic poets, with whom Henslowe for many years was engaged, and separate accounts, were missing, and have never been

recovered. It is fortunate, therefore, that Malone preserved copies of many of them, which were published in a very undigested manner, in the third and twenty-first volumes of the last edition of Shakespeare, prepared by Mr. Boswell in 1821. Malone, as has been elsewhere established, by no means exhausted the intelligence furnished by Henslowe's Diary, and a recent examination of it has supplied various additional particulars.

It appears from some of the letters of Robert Daborne (the writer of several plays) and from certain 'Articles of Oppression,' drawn up against the old manager, in 1614, by the Princess Elizabeth's servants, that Henslowe acted in a middle capacity, as a sort of broker between players and authors, and one of the items of charge against him, in 1614, was, that the company 'had paid him for 'play-books 200*l.*, or thereabouts, and yet he denied to 'give them the copies of any of them.'

Before the year 1600, the price paid by Henslowe for a new play never exceeded 8*l.*: this sum was given to Robert Wilson and William Haughton for a production, the name of which is not inserted in the Diary. The date of this transaction is November, 1599; but a little earlier, viz., in August, 1598, he had given Ben Jonson, Henry Porter, and Henry Chettle, only 6*l.** 'in full payment' for a play, called *Hot Anger soon Cold;* and in the year preceding, we meet with the following:—

'Lent unto the company to pay Drayton, and Dyckers, 'and Chettell ther full payment for the booke called *the* '*fames wares of henry the fyrste and the prynce of walles,*

* In a passage, already quoted, (p. 154, of this vol.) from *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592, where an attack is made upon Robert Greene, it is said that the price of a play was then 20 nobles, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'[the famous wars of Henry the First and the Prince of 'Wales] the some of 4*l.*'

In the same year Dekker obtained 5*l.* for his *Triplicity of Cuckolds*, and only 4*l.* for *Phaeton;* so that prior to 1599, the price seems to have varied according to circumstances with which we are now unacquainted. About 1600, perhaps in consequence of the exertions of rival companies, the price for a play seems to have been raised: on the 22d of June, 1602, we find an entry by Henslowe of 10*l.* to Ben Jonson, 'in *earnest* of a book called *Richard Crookback*, and for additions to *Jeronimo;*' and on the 25th of September, 1601, he had already been paid 2*l.* 'for writing his additions in *Jeronimo;*' so that in the whole he received as much as had been the price of two new plays 'in earnest' of one new one and for additions to an old one, *The Spanish Tragedy*. At this date it was very customary also for authors to be paid money beforehand, in order to secure a promised production,—a circumstance which frequently renders it very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to ascertain the exact sum paid for any one piece. Thus, in the autumn of 1599, Henslowe seems to have been very desirous of obtaining a play from Marston, who was notorious on account of the recent publication of his satires, and the old manager therefore paid him 2*l.* in hand, before he had even heard the title of the play, or well knew the name of the author he was endeavouring to secure for his theatre*. Sometimes it was specified that the money received was only in part payment of the whole sum; and in the entry regarding Drayton's *William Longsword*, it is stated that the cost of

* See this item quoted in the Annals of the Stage, i. 335.

the play when complete was to be 6*l.* In other instances the entire amount stipulated is not inserted, as in the following item, which (excepting the signatures of Haughton and Dekker) stands in Henslowe's Diary in the handwriting of Chettle—

'Received in earnest of patient Grissell, by us Thomas 'Dekker, Hen. Chettle, and William Hawton, the summe 'of 3*l.* of good and lawfull money, by a note sent from 'Mr. Robt. Shaw, the 19th of December, 1599.

'By me Henry Chettle,
'W. Haughton,
'Thomas Dekker.'

The advances were not always made to secure dramatic compositions, but not unfrequently to relieve the wants of poets, who applied to Henslowe in their distresses; and it is evident, from the letters of Daborne, that the old manager did not scruple to avail himself of an author's poverty in order to make a more advantageous bargain. Daborne was a needy man, with a pending law-suit, and the sums he obtained for plays were uncertain and disproportionate: all his letters are very urgent in the solicitation of money upon plays in hand, to show his progress in which, he was often obliged to send Henslowe the MS. as he proceeded, and in one instance he furnished him even with the rough draught of the last scene of a play in order to procure an advance.

Ben Jonson alludes to the practice of paying poets beforehand, in order to secure their services, in his *Poetaster*, acted in 1601, where Tucca, addressing Histrio, says:—'Rascal! to him—cherish his muse—go; thou 'hast forty—forty shillings I mean, stinkard: give him *in*

'*earnest*, do. He shall write for thee, slave!' and the player afterwards gives Minos 25*s*. 'in earnest,' which was all the money he had about him.

Nathaniel Field, who acted in the *Poetaster* as one of the Children of the Chapel, and who published his *Woman is a Weathercock* in 1612, could hardly have begun to write before 1609 or 1610: he had a good deal of correspondence with Henslowe, and some of the letters connect him indisputably with Massinger, a point denied by Reed before they were discovered *. In a communication, without date, he desires Henslowe, on his own behalf, and on behalf of some others in conjunction with whom he was engaged in writing a play (the title of which is not inserted), to let them have 10*l*. 'in hand:' in another note, also without date, he speaks of '10*l*. more at least to be received of you for *the play*.' Daborne usually adds dates to his letters, and on the 28th of March, 1613, he tells the manager that he desires him to 'disburse but 12*l*. a-play, till they be played.' By a memorandum of agreement between Henslowe and Daborne of the 17th of April, 1613, the latter engages to furnish a tragedy to be called *Machiavel and the Devil*, for 20*l*.; and on the 19th of May following, he acknowledges the receipt of 16*l*. of that sum. On the 25th of June, 1613, he informs Henslowe that he can obtain 25*l*. for his *Arraignment of London*. Perhaps these increased prices were to be given for the copy without any ulterior advantage to the author; for, on the 3rd of August, 1613, Daborne stipulates for 'but 12*l*., and the overplus of the second day,' adding 'that from 20*l*. he had come to 12*l*.;' and it is to be remarked that at this date

* See *Dodsley's Old Plays* by Reed, edition 1780, vol. xii. p. 350.

he was in great want, and supplicated Henslowe 'not to forsake him in his extremity.' In December, of the same year, we find Daborne entreating 10*l.* for a play, and telling Henslowe 'that he will be able to get 20*l.* for it from the company,' showing the manner in which Henslowe dealt in these commodities between the actors and authors, both of whom he seems to have long had very much in his power. The competition of other companies, and particularly of 'the King's men,' who played at the Globe, is frequently alluded to in these documents.

Two, three, four, or even more authors were frequently engaged upon the same production at the same time, often perhaps in order to bring it out with peculiar dispatch; and it is to be concluded that the division of the sum given for it was regulated among themselves. It does not, however, by any means follow that the poets, whose names have come down to us united on the same title-page, or even perhaps in the same entry in Henslowe's Diary, were contemporaneously employed upon the play. It was the constant practice for dramatic authors to make additions to, and alterations in, older plays on their revival, and this duty formed a considerable source of emolument. Ben Jonson's additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* have been already noticed: 4*l.* was the highest sum ever paid by Henslowe for 'additions,' and 1*l.* the lowest: Dekker, Rowley, Heywood, Chettle, and others were frequently employed in this manner, and they were paid according to the extent and nature of their alterations. On the revival of old pieces, or on their performance at court, Henslowe was in the habit of having new prologues and epilogues written for them; and it will be observed, by the two following quo-

tations from his Diary, that 5*s.* was the sum he usually paid for a prologue and epilogue—

'14 December, 1602, for a prol. and Epil. for the playe 'of *Bacon*, for the Corte, 5*s.*

'29 December, 1602, paid Henry Chettle for a prol. and 'epil. for the Corte, 5*s.*'

Malone observes:—'as it was a general practice in the 'time of Shakespeare to sell the copy of the play to the 'theatre, I imagine, in such cases, the author derived no 'other advantage from his piece than what arose from the 'sale of it*.' It is evident, however, that sometimes ulterior advantages were also stipulated for, beyond the sum given in the first instance. Daborne, as we have just seen, bargains with Henslowe for '12*l.* and the overplus of the second day,' which overplus, perhaps, meant what was received at the doors over and above the expenses of the house, including Henslowe's claim, whatever that might be. This might be matter of special agreement, and when such a sum as 20*l.* was given for a play, 'the overplus of the second day' might not belong to the author.

That it was the custom of old for dramatists to have an interest in one of the days of performance, may be established by various other authorities. Davenant, in his *Play-house to be Let*, written about 1673, tells us,

——————'There is an old tradition,
'That in the times of mighty *Tamburlaine*,
'Of conjuring *Faustus*, and the *Beauchamps bold*,
'You poets used to have a *second day*.'

The three plays here mentioned were written before 1600, two of them before 1593†, and the office-book of Sir

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 157.

† By Marlow. The third, *The bold Beauchamps*, according to the

Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels from 1622 to 1673, agrees with Davenant's 'tradition' and Daborne's stipulation. Jasper Mayne, in the prologue to *The City Match*, performed in 1639, gives similar evidence:—

'He's one whose unbought muse did never fear
'An empty *second day*, or a thin share.'

But to these authorities are to be opposed some lines in the prologue to Dekker's *If it be not good, the Devil is in it*, 1612, which is the oldest printed testimony I have discovered on the subject.

'It is not praise is sought for now, but pence
'Though dropp'd from greasy apron audience.
'Clapp'd may he be with thunder, that plucks bays
'With such foul hands, and with squint eyes doth gaze
'On Pallas' shield, not caring (so he gains
'A cramm'd *third day*) what filth drops from his brains.'

The practice might vary according to the popularity of the poet, and the terms he was able to make; and in the dedication of the same play, to his 'loving and loved friends and fellows, the Queen's Majesty's servants,' Dekker complains that hitherto he had been underpaid: his words are—'a sign the world hath an ill ear, when no 'music is good unless it strike up for nothing: I have 'sung so, but will no more.' Sir John Denham, in the

author of the false *Second part of Hudibras*, 12mo. 1663, canto i. was the work of Heywood:—

'The ancient poet, Heywood, draws
'From ancestors of these his laws
'Of drama—to fill up each scene
'With soldiers good, to please plebean;
'And in those famous stories told
'The Grecian wars and *Beauchamps bold*.'

'The Grecian wars' may allude to the same piece which Gayton, in a quotation on a preceding page, calls *Greeks and Trojans*, coupling it with *The Three London Apprentices*, undoubtedly Heywood's play.

prologue to his *Sophy*, acted at Blackfriars in 1642, speaks of the second or third day, as belonging to the poet; which confirms, in some degree, the conjecture, that whether the one or the other should be given to the author was matter of distinct arrangement, and not of settled custom.

——— 'Gentlemen, if you dislike the play,
'Pray make no words on't, 'till the *second day*
'Or *third* be past.'

At one period, writing for the stage seems to have become, in a degree, fashionable; and another description of dramatists are alluded to by some of our old poets—those who did not receive money for, but who paid money with, their plays, in order to procure them to be acted. R. Brome mentions them in his *Court Beggar*, both in the prologue and epilogue, as well as in the body of his play, performed in 1632: in the prologue, in these terms:

'Yet you to him your favours may express
'As well as unto those, whose forwardness
'Makes them your creatures thought, who in a way
'To purchase fame, *give money with their play.*'

In Act ii., he proposes that a piece of this kind shall, nevertheless, be rejected, unless the author become bound that it shall do 'true and faithful service for a whole term;' and in the epilogue, which is in prose, he charges these 'right worshipful poets' with claiming to have made their 'interludes' themselves, 'when, for aught you know, they bought them of university scholars.'

Shirley, in his *Witty Fair One*, 1633, Act iv., tells us that these 'university scholars' had tried in vain to get their plays performed, even with the inducement of giving money with them; at least, such seems to be the inference

from the passage. Violetta observes, 'We have excellent poets in town, they say;' to which Sir Nicholas replies, with some astonishment, 'I'th' town? what makes so 'many scholars, then, come from Oxford and Cambridge, 'with dossers full of lamentable tragedies and ridiculous 'comedies, which they might here vent to the players, but 'they will take no money for them.' He seems to mean, either that the players will not consent to take money for acting them, or he speaks ironically, that the scholars 'will take no money for them,' because they can prevail upon none of the companies to buy them.

ON THE PAYMENT OF ACTORS.

THE performers at our earlier theatres were distinguished into whole sharers, three-quarter sharers, half sharers, and hired men.

Into how many shares the receipts at the doors were divided, in any instance, does not appear; and, doubtless, it depended upon the number of persons of which a company consisted, and other circumstances. Malone 'suspected*' that the money taken was separated into forty portions, and that the receipts at the Globe or Blackfriars did not usually amount to more than 9*l.* on each performance: he assigns fifteen of the forty shares to the housekeepers or proprietors, and twenty-two shares to the actors, leaving three shares to be applied to the purchase of new plays. His notion of the nightly receipts was founded upon the accounts of Sir Henry Herbert, which, on this point, do not begin earlier than the year 1628. The King's

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 170.

players, performing in the summer at the Globe, and in the winter at the Blackfriars, allowed him a benefit at each theatre, for five years and a half: the highest amount he netted was in the first year of this bargain, when he received 17*l.* 10*s.*; and the lowest 1*l.* 5*s.*; but the average of the five years and a half was 8*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* If the clear profits at these houses were no more, Henslowe seems to have taken to himself a very large proportion of the receipts at the Rose and Newington theatres: in his entries in the MS. at Dulwich College, from 1591 to 1597, he often makes his share amount to between 3*l.* and 4*l.*, and once to 6*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Marlow's *Jew of Malta* produced him 4*l.* as his proportion of the money taken on the 12th June, 1594, when it was by no means a new play; and a piece, called *Woman hard to Please*, not now known, brought him the sum already mentioned—6*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Malone, however, imagines (for we are destitute of any clear account upon the point) that on remarkable occasions the whole money taken at the doors of the Globe or Blackfriars might amount to 20*l.**

Sharers, half-sharers, and hired men, are mentioned in the old satirical play, *Histriomastix*, 1610. In one scene, the dissolute performers having been arrested by soldiers, one of the latter exclaims, 'Come on, players! now we are the sharers and you the hired men;' and in another scene, Clout, one of the characters, rejects with some indignation the offer of 'half a share.' In the same production, we also meet with the term 'master-sharers:' they are spoken of by an officer as more substantial

* The author of *The Actors Remonstrance*, 1643, says that the 'House-keepers' shared 'ten, twenty, nay, thirty shillings' on each night of performance, which they put into 'their large and well-stuffed pockets.'

men :—' You that are master-sharers must provide you your own purses.'

Some of the actors, or master-sharers, were also proprietors of more shares than one. Gamaliel Ratsey, in that rare tract, called *Ratseis Ghost* (printed about 1606), knights the principal performer of a company by the title of ' Sir Three-shares and a half;' and Tucca, in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* (played in 1601), addressing Histrio, observes, ' Commend me to Seven shares and a half,' as if some individual, at that period, had engrossed as large a proportion. Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, speaks of ' a whole share,' as a source of no contemptible emolument, and of the owner of it as a person filling no inferior station in ' a cry of players.' In *Northward Ho!* also, a sharer is noticed with respect. Bellamont, the poet, enters and tells his servant, ' Sirrah, I'll speak with none:' on which the servant asks—' Not a player?' and his master replies:

——— ' No—though a sharer bawl:
' I'll speak with none, although it be the mouth
' Of the big company.'

Three-quarter sharers are mentioned in *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1604, (attributed to Middleton,) where he says, ' the Ant began to stalk like a three-quarter sharer.' In the complaint against Henslowe, drawn up by Joseph Taylor and other players in 1614, it is mentioned that some who had been only ' three-quarter sharers ' had advanced themselves to whole sharers.

The value of a share in any particular company would depend upon the number of subdivisions, upon the popularity of the body, upon the stock-plays belonging to it, upon the extent of its wardrobe, and the nature of its properties. Upon this point we are not wholly without information in

Henslowe's Diary, although Malone failed to discover it. Philip Henslowe had a relation named Francis Henslowe, who seems to have been an actor, and who, in 1593, bought a share in the company of the Queen's players, and paid 15*l.* for it: it is to be observed, however, that at this date they 'broke and went into the country,' most likely on account of the prevalence of the plague in London, so that the price of a share might then be lower than under more prosperous circumstances. Another entry relates to the same person in 1595, when he bought half a share in some other company, not named, for 9*l.*

The 'hired men' were paid, like our ordinary actors of the present day, by the week, having no other interest in the success of the theatre to which they belonged, than the prospect of the continuance of their salaries. Malone was of opinion that the stipend of a hired man was always 5*s.* per week for the first year, and 6*s.* 8*d.* per week for the second year*; and he cited a memorandum by Henslowe, in which he agreed to give that sum to Thomas Hearne†. If he had examined Henslowe's Diary more accurately, he would have seen that hired men were paid, as it was natural that they should be, according to the value of their services, and therefore that the sum varied.

The subsequent item establishes that Richard Alleyn, perhaps the brother or some more distant relation to Ed-

* In the time of Gosson, the pay of a hireling seems to have been 6*s.* a week; and we are led to infer that such was then the lowest sum paid to performers of that class: he says, 'Overlashing in apparel is 'so common a fault, that the very hyerlings of some of our players, 'which stand at reversion of six shillings by the week, jet under 'gentlemen's noses in sutes of silke.'—*Schoole of Abuse*, 1579.

† Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 322.

ward Alleyn, was one of the hired men at Henslowe's theatre, in 1598.—

'Mem. that this 25 of marche 1598 Richard Alleyne 'came and bownde hime sealfe unto me for ij yeares, in 'and a sumsett as a hiered servant, with ij syngell pence; 'and to contenew frome the daye above written unto the 'eand and tearme of ij yeares; yf he do not performe this 'covenant, then he to forfette for the breach of yt fortye 'powndes, and wittnes to this

'Wm. Borne.
'Thomas Dowton.
'Gabriel Spencer.
'Robarte Shawe.
'Richard Jonnes.'

William Borne, who was also called William Bird, was himself hired on 10th August, 1597. Thomas Heywood, who had written for the manager as early as 1596, on the 25th March, 1598, covenanted to play at his house only, for two years, but the amount of his wages is not inserted. It is very possible that some of the smaller sharers entered into an agreement of this kind, for greater security to the manager, lest more advantageous offers should be made to them by a rival company. Sharers had also sometimes weekly payments; and Henslowe stipulated to give Nathaniel Field, when a sharer, 6*s.* per week additional out of his own receipts. Field was a distinguished performer, and it is very probable that the share he possessed did not adequately remunerate him for his exertions.

We may infer from a passage in Chapman's *May Day*, 1611, Act ii.i, that the performers of female characters were paid more than ordinary actors: Quintiliano, speaking of Lionel, a supposed page, says, 'Afore heaven, 'tis a 'sweet fac'd child: methinks he would shew well in

'woman's attire—*and he took her by the lily white hand;* '*and laid her upon a bed**—I'll help thee to three crownes 'a-week for him, and she can act well.' Three crowns a-week was more than was paid to any of the hired men mentioned by Henslowe.

The hired men, or hirelings, were under the controul of the proprietors or lessees of the theatres: they were usually paid by them, and it was made a matter of complaint against Henslowe, in February, 1614, when a dispute arose between him and the company, that he had weakened their numbers by suddenly withdrawing four hired men, although having agreed to pay their weekly stipends out of the money he derived from the galleries, he had notwithstanding thrown the expence upon the sharers.

Among the curious papers found by Malone at Dulwich College, was one which throws light on the stipulations entered into by actors, on condition that they were allowed a share of the proceeds of the theatre.

Henslowe and Meade having rebuilt Paris Garden in 1613, as a playhouse, and as a place where bears, &c., were to be baited, on the 7th of April, 1614, entered into what are now technically called 'articles' with Robert Dawes to play there for three years, 'for and at the rate of one whole share, according to the custom of players;' and Dawes, on his part, covenanted to attend all rehearsals or forfeit twelve-pence—to be ready dressed to begin the play at three in the afternoon, 'unless by six of the company he shall be licensed to the contrary,' or forfeit 3*s.*—if he 'shall 'happen to be overcome with drink by the judgment of 'four of the company' when he ought to be fit to play, to

* Obviously a passage quoted from some ballad.

forfeit 10*s.*—and if he fail to come to play, 'having no licence or just excuse of sickness,' to forfeit 20*s.* From this document it also appears that Henslowe and Meade were to be entitled to a moiety of the money 'received at the galleries and 'tiring-house' in consideration of their ownership of the theatre, and to the other moiety on account of the debt due from the company for the stock of apparel furnished, or to be furnished, until the whole should be paid off. There is also in the agreement a singular clause, showing in what way the stock of apparel was sometimes diminished: it is provided, that if Dawes quit the theatre with any part of the manager's dresses or property, or if he be privy to any such misconduct in others, he shall forfeit 40*l.*—a very heavy penalty, proving how strictly it was then necessary to guard against the plundering of the wardrobe.

From the will of Thomas Pope, a celebrated actor, dated 20th of July, 1603*, we learn that he owned shares in two different and unconnected theatres at the same time, and, perhaps, played at both, viz., the Globe and Curtain. John Underwood, as appears by his will, was 'a fellow sharer' in the Globe, Blackfriars, and Curtain theatres. As Pope does not mention his shares in the Blackfriars playhouse, perhaps the sharers in the Globe were not necessarily sharers in the private theatre connected with it.

Another source of emolument to performers of eminence was the articling of apprentices, who were most likely engaged by the companies to which their masters belonged, and their earnings, or a certain proportion of them, appropriated to those masters. Such is precisely

* Published by Chalmers, Supp. Apol., 162.

the case in our own day with singing masters, to whom young persons, intended for the vocal department of our stage, are bound for instruction. According to Henslowe's papers, William Augustine, a player, had an apprentice of the name of James Bristow; and in December, 1597, Henslowe bought the boy's services from his master for 8*l.*: the entry is this:—

'Bowght my boye Jeames Brystow, of William Augus-
'ten, player, the 18th of desember, 1597, for viij*l.*'

Samuel Gilburne, one of the actors in Shakespeare's plays, was articled to Augustine Phillippes, whose name stands fourth in the licence of King James, in 1603: in his will, dated May 4th, 1605, Gilburne is called by Phillippes his 'late apprentice.' At the time of his death, in the same month in which his will bears date, James Sands was his apprentice. In the will of Nicholas Tooley, dated June 3d, 1623, it is stated that he had been apprenticed to the celebrated Richard Burbage.

The performance of plays at court, from a very early date, seems to have been a considerable source of emolument to players. Prior to the reign of Elizabeth, the rewards for such services varied considerably; but from the year 1562 to 1574, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* were allowed for each play: after this date, an addition of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, 'by way of her Majesty's reward,' was always made, so that the price of each play in London, by whatever company represented, was constantly 10*l.*

Companies of players were also not unfrequently employed at marriages, christenings, and entertainments given upon other occasions. In a MS. recently sold, formerly in the Fairfax Collection, containing the regulations for the household of an Earl, part of which were drawn up in the

reign of Henry VII. (the sixteenth year of that king being mentioned,) provision is made for the representation of 'Disguisings, Enterludes, and plays,' on the marriage of any member of the family. This custom long continued; and in an account, among the Lansdown MSS.* of the expenses at the wedding feast of Mr. Wentworth with the daughter of Lord Burghley, in 1581, are entries of 10*l.* given to the musicians, and of 5*l.* to the players.—It was not unusual when players heard of 'a banquet towards,' to go to the house where the party was assembled, and to offer to perform. A remarkable account of the manner in which they proceeded on these occasions, and of the rewards they ordinarily received, is given in the historical play of *Sir Thomas More*, among the Harleian MSS.†, which was probably written anterior to 1590. Sir Thomas More is about to give a splendid supper to the Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen, their wives, &c., and his lady informs him that a player is without, who just afterwards enters. Sir T. More says to him—

'Welcome, good friend: what is your will with me?
'*Player*. My Lord, my fellowes and my selfe
'Are come to tender ye our willing service,
'So please you to command us.
'*More*. What, for a play you meane?
'Whom do ye serve?
'*Player*. My Lord Cardinalles grace.
'*More*. My Lord Cardinall's players! now, trust me, welcome.
'You happen hither in a luckie time
'To pleasure me and benefit yourselves.
'The Maior of London and some Aldermen,
'His lady and their wives, are my kind guests
'This night at supper. Now, to have a play.

* No. 33. † No. 7368.

'Before the banquet will be excellent.
'How thinke you, sonne Roper?
'*Roper*. 'Twill do well, my Lord,
'And be right pleasing pastime to your guests.'

When the company is assembled the players perform part of an interlude of *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*. Afterwards a servant brings the players eight angels as the payment for their pains, but they are dissatisfied, and suspect that the reward sent by Sir Thomas More was at least 5*l*., or perhaps 10*l*. or 20*l*., but that the servant had retained part of it for himself, which turns out to be the case: Sir Thomas More had sent ten angels, which the players ultimately obtain, and the actor who had played 'Inclination, the Vice,' observes, 'Many such 'rewards would make us ride, and horse us with the best 'nags in Smithfield.'

The sum given to performers under such circumstances, no doubt varied, according to the circumstances and disposition of the person at whose house they exhibited.

The custom for performers of dramatic representations to journey from place to place is very ancient, and frequent instances of the kind, particularly in the reign of Henry VI., are given in the Annals of the Stage. Many noblemen at that date had companies of players as their retainers, and they (to use an expression of one of our old dramatists) 'travelled upon the hard hoof from village to village,' and from country seat to country seat, receiving uncertain rewards for their exhibitions*.

* Or, as Dekker, whom I quote, words it contemptuously, 'for cheese and butter-milk.' He is speaking of bad but ambitious players, who, out of a desire 'to wear the best jerkin' and to 'act great parts, 'forsake the stately and more than Roman city stages' and join a 'strolling company.' *Bellman of London bringing to Light the most*

No check seems to have been given to the practice of actors wandering over the country, in the exercise of their quality, until the 14th Elizabeth, c. 5, by which it was declared that all players, &c. not licensed by any baron or person of higher rank, or by two justices of the peace, should be deemed and treated as rogues and vagabonds. We can have no doubt that many companies wandered from place to place, pretending to be the retainers of nobility, and to the vagrancy of such persons this statute would put an end: it would also terminate the existence of companies taking their name from any particular town, unless they procured authority from two justices of the peace. After the lapse of about five and twenty years, this statute seems to have fallen into disuse, and it was therefore revived, by the 39th Elizabeth, c. 4, which Malone thought the first statute on the subject *.

It does not seem to have been usual for the chief actors of the established companies of London to travel into the country, unless the capital were at any period visited by the plague. In general, only the inferior performers left the metropolis; and J. Stephens, giving the character of 'a common player,' observes, 'I prefix the epithet of 'common, to distinguish the base and artless appen- 'dants of our city companies, which oftentimes start away 'into rustical wanderings, and then, like Proteus, start 'back again into the city number †.' That is to say, they returned to London, when they could no longer make their acting profitable in the country. The receipts in the

notorious Villainies, &c., London, printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1608, 4to.—A very rare edition of a highly popular tract, unknown to mos bibliographers, in the hands of Mr. Pickering, of Chancery-lane.

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 48.

† *Essays and Characters*, 8vo. 1615.

country were always smaller than in London; and in several instances, Henslowe stipulates with his 'hirelings,' that should the company be obliged to go into the country, they should play 'at half wages.' When Gamaliel Ratsey, the highwayman, gave some players 40*s.* for 'a private play' before him, the author of the tract called *Ratsey's Ghost* *, adds that they 'were richly satisfied, for they 'scarcely had twenty shillings audience at any time for a 'play in the country.' Dekker, in his *News from Hell*, 1606, enumerating certain expenses to which Charon had been put, inserts the following items, which place 'country players' in no very enviable light.

'Item lent to a companie of country players, being nine in 'number, one sharer and the rest Jornymen, that with strowling 'were brought to deaths door, xiij*d.* ob. upon their stocke of 'apparell to pay for their boat hire, because they would trie if 'they could be suffred to play in the devils name; which stocke 'afterwards came into your hands and you dealt upon it— 'xiij*d.* ob.

'They had his hand to a warrant (quoth Charon), but their 'ragges served to make me swabbers, because they never fetcht 'it againe, so that belike he proved a good Lord and master to 'them and they made new. Perge mentiri—Tickle the next 'Minkin.

'Item when a Cobler of Poetrie, called a play-patcher, was 'condemned with his cat to be duckt three times in the Cuck-'ing-stole of Periphlegeton (being one of the scalding rivers) 'til they both dropt again, because he scolded against his 'betters, and those whom he lived upon, laid out at that time 'for straw to have carried Pusse away if she had kittend, to 'avoid any catterwalling in Hell, j pennie.'

'Strolling players' are mentioned, not very respectfully, in Taylor's *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*, acted about

* 4to. Printed by V. S., without date, but about 1606.

1614, by 'certain London prentices,' for whose want of skill the author thus apologises in the prologue:

'We are not half so skill'd as strolling players,
'Who could not please here as at country fairs.'

Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Craven**, observes justly, that strolling players 'were probably of no higher rank 'or greater talents, than those who are now content to 'amuse a country village in a barn;' and he adds, 'dra-'matic composition was at its height before dramatic 'representation had emerged far above barbarism,' a remark which seems to be true only if it refer to 'dramatic representation' by companies in the provinces. In the metropolis, the performance was perhaps usually worthy of the production, and the excellent acting of R. Burbage might not a little contribute to aid and excite the genius of Shakespeare. The observation of Dr. Whitaker is appended as a note to certain extracts he furnishes from the Household-book of the Clifford family, and which, as they serve to illustrate this part of the subject, I subjoin.

'1595 To Lord Willowby's men playing at this House twice xxx*s.*

'1609 April 27—Given to a Company of players my Lord Vawes [Vaux's] men in reward not playing, because it was Lent and therefore not fitting x*s.*

'1614 Given to Lord Wharton, his players; who played one play before my Lord and the Ladies at Hazlewood

'1619 Given to 15 men that were players who belonged to the late Queen, but did not play xiii*s.* iv*d.*

Sept. 28. Given to a company of players, being Prince Charles's servants, who came to Londesbro' and played a play..... xi*s.*

'1624 Gave to a set of players, going by the name

* Second Edit. 1812, p. 318.

of the King's Players, who played three times iiil.
'1633 To certain players Itinerants il.
'1635 To a certain company of roguish players who represented a New way to pay Old Debts il.
To Adam Gerdler, whom my Lord sent for from York to act a part in the Knight of the Burning Pestle vs.'

In the preceding entries, we see an obvious difference made between the theatrical servants of noblemen, and mere 'itinerant' and 'roguish players,' who wandered about and were liable to have the statute against vagabonds enforced against them: 'the late Queen' of course meant Queen Anne, who died on the 1st March, 1619.

Many authorities might be brought forward to show, that from very early times the theatrical servants of the nobility wore the badge of the person under the protection of whose name they travelled. When the ballad-singer in *Histriomastix*, 1610, asks the players whose men they are, he looks at the badge they wore, and answers himself—'How! the sign of the owl in the ivy bush? Sir Oliver Owlet's!' This circumstance is again adverted to, in the last act of the same play.

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES—PROMPTER—MUSIC.

THE speaker of the Prologue, when a play was not preceded by an 'Induction,' entered after the trumpet had thrice sounded. Thomas Dekker thus humorously introduces a list of the mistakes in the printing of his *Satiromastix*, 1602:—'Instead of the trumpets sounding thrice 'before the play begin, it shall not be amiss for him that 'will read first to behold this short Comedy of Errors,'

Many proofs to the same effect might be produced from other plays and pamphlets of the time *.

The Prologue-speaker, in the earlier period of our drama, was either the author in person, or his representative. *Poeta* spoke the prologue to Childermas Day, 1512 (reprinted by Hawkins in his *Origin of the English Drama* as *Candlemas Day* †), and the poet delivers the address to

* In imitation of the theatres, three soundings were used before the commencement of puppet-plays, and shows of monsters: in Mayne's *City Match*, 1639, when Quartfield, Salewit, &c., are about to exhibit Timothy as a strange fish, Plotwell observes,

——— 'they only stay
'For company: 't has sounded *twice*.'

† *Wily Beguiled* is another of the plays inserted by Hawkins (vol. iii.), but he omits the Epilogue, which is worth preserving, if only on account of the mention in it of *Scoggins' Jests*, and *The Hundred Merry Tales*—the last spoken of by Beatrice in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act ii. Sc. 1. I therefore insert it from the edition of *Wily Beguiled*, of 1606, in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire: the Garrick copy is without it.

'The Epilogue.

'Gentles, all compast in this circled round,
'Whose kind aspects do patronise our sports,
'To you I'll bend as low as to the earth,
'In all the humble compliments of courtesy.
'But if there be (as 'tis no doubt there is,)
'In all this round some cynic censurers,
'Whose only skill consists in finding faults,
'That have, like Midas, mighty ass's ears,
'Quick judgments that will strike at every stale,
'And perhaps such as can make a large discourse
'Out of Scoggins' Jests, or the Hundred Merry Tales;
'Marry, if you go any further 'tis beyond their reading:
'To these, I say, I scorn to lend a look,
'And bid them vanish, vapours! and so let them pass.
'But to the other sort, that hear with love, and judge with favour,
'To them we leave to censure of our play,
'And if they like our play's catastrophe,
'Then let them grace it with a *plaudite*.'

the audience in the religious play of *Jacob and Esau*, 1568: before the epilogue, also, is this direction: 'Then entereth the poet, and the rest stand still till he have done.' Bale inserted his own name as *Prolocutor*, at the opening of his *God's Promises*, 1538. The prologue to *Misogonus* (a MS. play, dated 1577, but written anterior to that date) was delivered by an actor in the character of Homer, with a wreath of laurel round his head. In the accounts of the Revels in 1573-4, a charge is made for 'bayes for the Prologgs;' and from the prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater*, 1607, we learn that it was, even at that date, customary for the person who delivered that portion of the performance, to be furnished with a garland of bay, as well as with a black velvet cloak: 'Gentlemen, Inductions are out of date, and a prologue in 'verse is as stale as a black velvet cloak and a bay gar-'land: therefore you have it in plain prose thus.' The bay was the emblem of authorship, and the use of the garland arose out of the custom for the author, or a person representing him, to speak the prologue *.

The almost constant practice for the prologue-speaker to be dressed in a black cloak, or in black, perhaps, had the same origin. In the induction to Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, two of the children of the Chapel contend for the right of delivering the prologue, and one of them maintains his claim by pleading 'possession of the cloak.'—Before

Another notice of *The Hundred Merry Tales*, which also did not occur to Mr. Singer, when he reprinted Rastell's edition of them, is to be found in Dekker's *Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603, Sig F 4. 'I could (he 'says) fill a large volume, and call it the second part of *The Hundred* '*Merry Tales*, only with such ridiculous stuff as this of the justice.'

* The Prologue to Shakerley Marmyon's *Fine Companion*, 1633, is a dialogue between a Critic and the Author.

Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*, 1615, the direction is 'Enter three in black cloaks at the doors,' each of them coming forward to speak the prologue: the first exclaims, 'What mean you, my masters, to appear thus before your 'times? Do you not know that I am the prologue—Do 'you not see this long black velvet cloak upon my back? '—Have you not sounded thrice?'—The same point may be established by quotations from Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Brome's *Novella*, Davenant's *Love and Honour*, and many other plays *.

The exceptions to this rule were, however, not unfrequent, and the prologue to Brome's *City Wit* was delivered by Sarpego, one of the persons of the play, in his character of 'a Pedant.' The prologue to *Every Woman in her humour*, 1609, was delivered by a woman, an actor who personated the character of Flavia:—'Enter Flavia, as a 'Prologue—Gentles of both sexes, and of all sorts, I am 'sent to bid ye welcome. I am but instead of a Prologue, 'for a she Prologue is as rare as a usurer's alms.'

* Mr. Douce is in possession of a tract with the following title:—'The Prologue and Epilogue to a comedie presented at the Entertain-'ment of the Prince his Highnesse, by the Scollers of Trinity Colledge, 'in Cambridge, in March last, 1641. By Francis Cole.' London, 1642, 4to. It is preceded by a wood-cut, of a person in a black suit, including a cloak, with a paper in his hand; but although the figure was there meant to represent the speaker of a prologue, the cut was not made expressly for this publication: it is, in fact, only part of a larger engraving (if so rude a performance may deserve to be so called) of a messenger bringing a paper to Bishop White; and the whole precedes a tract in my hands, called 'Sir Francis Seymor, his honourable and worthy speech' against the toleration of Jesuits, in 1641. The printer of Cole's Prologue and Epilogue, in 1642, broke off the figure of the Bishop upon the same block, and cutting away an inscription proceeding from the mouth of the messenger,—'Read and consider,'—made the figure of the messenger represent the speaker of a prologue, which, no doubt, it sufficiently resembled.

Another instance of the same kind is to be found at a considerably later date: the prologue to Shirley's *Coronation*, 1640, was spoken by a woman—

'Since 'tis become the title of our play,
'A woman once in a Coronation may
'With pardon speak the prologue, give as free
'A welcome to the theatre, as he
'That with a little beard, a long black cloak
'With a starch'd face and supple leg hath spoke
'Before the plays the [this] twelvemonth: let me then
'Present a welcome to these gentlemen.
'If you be kind and noble, you will not
'Think the worse of me for my petticoat.'

Malone remarks *, that 'an epilogue does not appear to 'have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakespeare's 'time;' but in many instances in which they were delivered they were no doubt retrenched by the printer, because they could not be brought within the compass of the page, and because he was unwilling to add another leaf: sometimes they are crowded into an unusually small space; but as they were matters separate from the main body of the performance, it is likely that not a few of them have been lost. 'In *All's Well that ends Well* (says Malone), *A* '*Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, *Troilus and* '*Cressida*, and *The Tempest*, the epilogue is spoken by one 'of the persons of the drama, and adapted to the character 'of the speaker—a circumstance that I have not observed 'in the epilogues of any other author of that age.' In this remark Malone was hasty, for it would be easy to multiply proofs that other dramatists of that day pursued the same course: the epilogue to H. Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, was spoken by Mall, the

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 115.

heroine, in the presence of the rest of the performers. In Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 1600, it was delivered by a little boy, who had acted in the play, sitting on the knee of Will Summer: in *Eastward Ho!* it is given to Quicksilver, &c. Coming down to a later date, the epilogue to R. Brome's *Antipodes* (played in 1638) was divided between two characters—the Doctor and Peregrine.

The Morals written and exhibited subsequent to the Reformation almost invariably closed with an 'epilogue,' in which prayers were offered up by the actors (usually kneeling) for the King, Queen, nobility, clergy, and sometimes for the commons. This practice continued in the beginning of the 17th century, and the most recent instance that I am aware of is the epilogue to *Two Wise Men and all the rest Fools*, 1619:—'It resteth now that we render you 'very humble and hearty thanks, and that all our hearts 'pray for the King and his family's enduring happiness, 'and our country's perpetual welfare—*Si placet, plaudite.*'

The prompter, book-keeper, or book-holder (for he is spoken of by these three designations) was well known in our old theatres. In R. Brome's *Antipodes*, A. iii. Sc. 8, a play within a play is represented on the stage, and a voice is heard 'within' giving the word 'Dismiss the Court,' upon which Lord Letoy observes—'Dismiss the Court: can you not hear the prompter?' In *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609, one of the characters observes, 'He would swear like an Elephant and stamp 'and stare (God bless us!) like a playhouse book-keeper, 'when the actors miss their entrance.' The book-holder is a character in the induction to Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, and he is also mentioned in the inductions to

his *Cynthia's Revels* and *The Staple of News*. In Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Dick Huntly (who appears to have filled this post in the company by whom that piece was acted) is told by Will Summer to 'hold the book well,' in order that the actors might not be 'at a *non plus* in the latter end of a play.'

The tire-man, who had charge of the apparel and properties of the company, is also spoken of by Ben Jonson in the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, and by many other dramatic poets. We find the word 'properties' technically applied to the appurtenances of the stage as early as the year 1511: in an account of the furniture, &c. for the play of St. George, at Basingborne, in that year, 'properties' and 'property making' are both used, and the 'tire-man, in the same document is called the 'garnement man.' In the 'brief estimate' of the Revels at court in 1563-4, the 'properties' for five plays at Windsor are several times mentioned.

Theatrical performances from the most remote date seem to have been varied and enlivened by music: the playing of minstrels is often mentioned in the old Miracle-plays, and, besides horns, the pipe, the tabret, and the flute are spoken of as the instruments they used*. At the end of the prologue to *Childermas Day*, 1512, the minstrels are required to 'do their diligence,' and precisely the same expression is employed at the close of the same performance, with the addition of being required either to dance themselves, or to play a dance for the company.

'Also, ye menstrelles, doth your diligens,
'A fore our depertyng geve us a daunce.'

* See the Smith's Pageant in the Chester Whitsun Plays.

The mention of music, or minstrelsy, as an accompaniment of the old Morals, is not frequent, although songs are often introduced into them; but it is very clear that companies of players who visited monasteries and the houses of the nobility prior to the Reformation were often attended by minstrels, who are sometimes mentioned with, and rewarded at the same time as the actors.

The use of trumpets, cornets, &c., for the soundings before the prologue in plays of the age of Shakespeare, and for sennets and alarums during the performance of them, requires no farther illustration; but regarding the music between the acts it may be fit to bring forward a few authorities.

First, with respect to the situation the musicians used to occupy in our theatres: Malone (on the authority of Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton) says that 'the 'band, which I believe did not consist of more than eight 'or ten performers, sat in an upper balcony over what is 'now called the stage-box *.' In support of this position he cites a stage direction from Massinger's *City Madam*, where it is said that the 'Musicians come down to make ready for a song at the arras,' but it does not by any means prove what Malone advances. In Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602, (played by the children of Paul's) we meet with the following stage direction in Act v.— 'While the measure is dancing, Andrugio's ghost is placed '*betwixt the music houses*,' so that the instrumental performers sat in two different places. In Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, 1630, we read this stage direction:— 'While the company seem to weep and mourn, there is a

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 111.

'sad song *in the music room:*' boxes were indifferently called *rooms*, and one of them was probably appropriated to the musicians. Whatever might be its situation at an earlier date, when Shakespeare's *Tempest*, as altered by Dryden and Davenant, was played at the Duke's theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields in 1667, it seems probable that the band was for the first time placed between the audience and the stage. The subsequent is part of the introductory description:—'The front of the stage is opened, 'and the band of twenty-four violins, with the harpsicals 'and theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed be-'tween the pit and the stage.' As Malone has remarked, if this had not been a novel regulation, the explanation would have been unnecessary *.

Although various songs are introduced into *Ralph Roister Doister*, it no where appears that music was played between the acts. At the end of Act ii. of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1566, Diccon, addressing himself to the instrumental performers, tells them, 'In the mean time, fellows, pipe up your fiddles;' and, perhaps, we may conclude that music was also played at the close of the other acts, although it is not mentioned. In *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, by Anthony Munday, (printed about 1584,) the different kinds of music to be played

* There is little doubt that Davenant introduced this change, as well as others less commendable, from France. The authors of the *Histoire Universelle des Théâtres* tell us, that after the disuse of the old chorus in 1630, 'à la place du chant qui distinguoit les actes, et qui 'marquoit les repos nécessaires, on introduisit des joueurs d'instru-'mens, qui d'abord furent placés sur les ailes du théâtre, où ils exé-'cutoient différens airs avant le commencement de la pièce, et entre les 'actes. Ensuite ils furent mis au fond des troisièmes loges, puis aux 'secondes, enfin *entre le théâtre et le parterre*, où ils sont restés.'—*Essais Historiques*, ii. 290.

after each act are mentioned, whether 'a pleasant galliard,' 'a solemn dump,' or 'a pleasant allemaigne.' Marston is very particular in his *Sophonisba*, 1606, in pointing out the instruments to be played during the four intervals of the acts:—'the cornets and organs playing loud full music' for Act i.; 'organs, mixed with recorders,' for Act ii.; 'organs, viols, and voices' for Act iii.; and 'a base lute and a treble viol' for Act iv. In the course of Act v. he introduces a novel species of harmony, for we are twice told that 'infernal music plays softly.' Fiddles, flutes, and hautboys are mentioned by other dramatists as instruments then in use at the theatres. Nabbes, in the prologue to his *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637, alludes at the same time to the change of the place of action, and to the performance of instruments between the acts—

'The place is sometimes changed too with the scene,
'Which is translated as the music plays
'Betwixt the acts.'

Malone refers to a warrant of protection, dated 27th of December, 1624, by Sir H. Herbert to Nicholas Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and seventeen others, 'all employed by the King's Majesty's servants in their 'quality of playing as musicians, and other necessary 'attendants*;' but here it is impossible to distinguish who were musicians and who attendants, and a doubt must exist whether the musicians did not sometimes perform, and *vice versâ*. We know that Phillippes and other actors of eminence played upon different instruments †, and

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 112.

† By his will, dated 4th of May, 1605, among other bequests, he left his base viol to Samuel Gilburne, his 'late apprentice,' and his cittern, bandore, and lute to James Sands, who was his apprentice at the time of his death.—*Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii. 472.

Pallant was a performer in the 'plat' of the second part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, before 1588: possibly after he had ceased to act he became an instrumental performer in the band. The fee to the Master of the Revels for 'a warrant for the musicians of the king's company' appears to have been 1*l.*, and on the 9th of April, 1627, Sir H. Herbert enters the receipt of that sum for that purpose; before this date we do not hear of any such claim by the Master of the Revels.

Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music* (iii. 376), quotes from a MS., then in the possession of Dr. Moreton of the British Museum, an account of the preparation and performance of Shirley's *Mask of Peace* in February, 1633-4, in which it is said that 'the Blackfriars music' was then 'esteemed the best of the common musicians in London.' The shifts they were put to, after the closing of the theatres in 1642, are thus humorously noticed by the author of *The Actor's Remonstrance*, 1643:—'Our music, 'that was held so delectable and precious, that they 'scorned to come to a tavern under twenty shillings salary 'for two hours, now wander with their instruments under 'their cloaks—I mean such as have any—into all houses 'of good fellowship, saluting every room where there is 'company with "Will you have any music, gentlemen?"'

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